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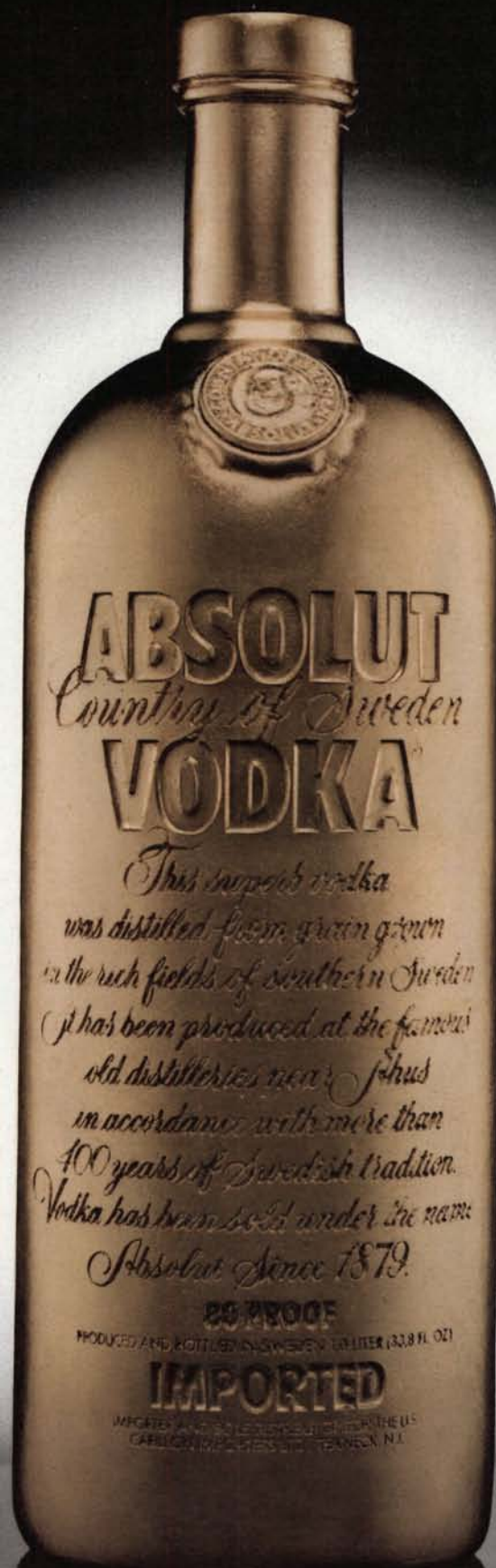
What Makes Willie Run?

NATIONAL REVIEW

Will This
Man Keep
George Bush
In The
White House?

California GOP
Senatorial Candidate
Bruce Herschensohn





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NATIONAL REVIEW

OCTOBER 19, 1992 VOL. XLIV, NO. 20

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LETTERS

No Hatchet Job

I've read many pieces about my cousin Lizzie Borden through the years and would like to thank Florence King for a very decent piece and for not doing a "hatchet job" ["A Wasp Looks at Lizzie Borden," Aug. 17].

Miss King did some good research for her story. Her account of the "family fight" concerning real-estate transactions among Borden family members was a nice touch. That was the straw that broke the camel's back for the relationship between Lizzie and Abby. No person should ever burn a Borden when it comes to real estate.

For years, Lizzie had a bitter taste in her mouth when referring to Abby as "Mother." Having a solid reason not to address her by that intimate title was of great, personal relief for her.

James George Borden
Hilo, Hawaii

Bomber George

You quote ["Convention Notes," Sept. 14] Pat Buchanan's speech noting President Bush's distinction of being, at 17, "the youngest fighter pilot of the war." It is time to correct this oft-repeated inaccuracy, and even burnish Mr. Bush's war record yet brighter. His combat craft was no fighter plane, but the Grumman *Avenger*, a single-engine torpedo bomber for which the term "lumbering" could well have been coined. One of its nicknames during the war was "Turkey," a/k/a Slowest Aircraft Known to Man (although PBV-5A *Catalina* aircrews will contest that).

Fighter pilots have always occupied the top of the pecking order among warrior aviators, and rightfully so—it takes a special breed to succeed and survive. But a low-and-slow torpedo or bombing run, made with two enlisted gunners aft who depend on that lone pilot for ultimate survival, requires its own special breed. Not bad for a teenager.

Robert J. Powers
Col., USAF (Ret.)
Shreveport, La.

Queer Notions

When I read the piece by Matthew Paris ["Birth of a Queer Nation," Aug. 31],

I thought at first that someone had snatched my copy of *NR* and replaced it with *The New Republic* or *The Nation*. Since when, may I ask, has it been your policy to publish encomia to sodomy? A certain amount of diversity of opinion is healthy, but it's really going too far to turn your pages over to the opposing party itself. Please reconsider, before you start advocating abortion on demand, unilateral disarmament, or collectivization of the means of production.

Karl F. Jahn
Fairfax, Va.

The Decade of Prosperity

Kudos for "The Real Reagan Record" [Aug. 31]. The well-researched refutation of the liberal-media-generated common knowledge about the 1980s will be a valuable resource for countless readers. It quantified something I knew at only a qualitative level: the Eighties witnessed the resurgence of America not only as a military and moral power, but as an economic one as well. I grew up in the 1980s, and remember clearly (apparently more clearly than some of those much my senior) the dramatic difference between that decade and the late Seventies. I was old enough to notice falling gas prices, declining unemployment and inflation, and the growing prosperity of my family and the families of classmates and friends. The changes were so obvious that by 1983 (without parental prompting) middle-school friends and I were making Jimmy Carter jokes.

Travis Corcoran
Ithaca, N.Y.

False Impressions

In order to support his opinions, Richard Grenier has changed the facts of history ["The Ecstasies of John Frohnmayr," Aug. 3]. He claims the French Impressionists were not "censored or condemned in any way by the state," yet Manet felt the sting of the government censor twice during his prolific career. His 1867 lithograph, *The Execution of the Emperor Maximilian of Mexico*, and an 1874 caricature of General MacMahon, then President of the Third Republic, were both banned from public view. The French government, at that

time, was too sensitive to withstand any criticism.

Mr. Grenier tells us the Impressionists were "admired from almost the very start"; however, Monet, Renoir, Pissarro, Sisley, Degas, Cézanne, and Morisot were repeatedly rejected from the annual Salon, an exhibition essential to any French artist's career. In 1873, they formed their own exhibition to promote the new and independent art the Salon juries deemed unacceptable. After only one month, with meager attendance and poor sales, the exhibition closed, and the artists found themselves in debt.

The next time Mr. Grenier feels compelled to invoke the Impressionists, for his own credibility, he might research first. Perhaps then he will learn that the endurance of French Impressionism is the result of the artists' perseverance, not the good taste of the government and the public, as Mr. Grenier suggests.

Susan K. Amicucci
Urbana, Ill.

The next time Miss Amicucci feels compelled to express herself in print, I suggest she herself research her subject. The Salon des Indépendants—to which she seems to be referring, and to which the Impressionists flocked—was first held in 1874, not 1873, and, more important, went on to become a flourishing institution. By 1886, Durand-Ruel, France's leading art dealer, organized a major exhibition of French Impressionists in New York. The Maximilian and MacMahon incidents were trivial and no impediment whatever to the career of Edouard Manet. The Execution of the Emperor Maximilian was not a lithograph but a painting, prohibited for display at the Great Universal Exhibition of 1867, which left Manet with only fifty paintings in the exhibition. In 1881 he was awarded the Croix de la Légion d'Honneur.

But Miss Amicucci manages completely to miss my central point. I wrote that the Impressionists were admired from almost the very start by (this she omits) "the general public." The Impressionists' fierce adversaries were the lords of the period's art establishment, John Frohnmayr's predecessors. Having opposed innovation a hundred or so years ago, the art establishment now seems ardently to support any novelty whatsoever, no matter how jejune. I am somewhat baffled by Miss Amicucci's last point, totally banishing "the public" and tying the endurance of French Impressionism to the artists' "perseverance" alone. How did Miss Amicucci, for example, even hear of Impressionism? Perhaps she will research this for me.

—RG

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She Didn't Let The Dean Intimidate Her.

Jennifer Imle is a junior at Southwestern University in Texas. Like many students she believes that important campus issues should be discussed. Issues like rigged admissions policies based on race.

But when she displayed a Young America's Foundation poster attacking such policies she ran into a firestorm. She was attacked as a racist by campus activists and she was ridiculed by professors in class.

Dean of Students, Roger Ballou, took one look at the poster and said, "This must go!" Then he circulated a memo saying the poster smacked of white supremacy. He said that Jennifer and other conservatives should publicly debate their decision to display the poster.

But Jennifer wanted the issues raised by the poster to be debated, not whether she had a right to display it. She called Young America's Foundation for help. The Foundation helped by sponsoring a debate at the school between Dinesh D'Souza,

a bestselling author on affirmative action, and a local proponent of quotas. Over 350 students attended. The NEW YORK TIMES reported, "University administrators said it was one of the largest such gatherings in their memory."

Jennifer Imle fought back, won respect and contributed to the debate on vital issues on her campus. You can too.

We're helping students with speakers, advice and literature. Last year Young America's Foundation sponsored hundreds of lectures by conservatives on campuses all over the United States.

If you need our help, we want to hear from you. Or, if you want to help Young America's Foundation to assist students like Jennifer Imle, please contact us.



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FROM THE EDITOR

Getting It Wrong

■ Since NATIONAL REVIEW is opposed to futurology, astrology, and all forms of necromancy, our success at political prediction is somewhat unsettling.

Readers may recall our first 1989 cover story: "The Coming Crack-Up of Communism." Communism duly cracked up that same year. And a few months ago, when other pundits were hailing Maastricht's dawn of European unity, Angelo Codevilla forecast "The Coming Euromess" here.

In short, Madame Arcati could take our correspondence course.

In one respect, however, we deserve no particular credit. Our consistent editorial prediction that Europe's system of fixed exchange rates (the ERM, for short) would collapse has indeed proved correct. But fixed exchange rates collapse regularly.

Exactly how many times they have done so is uncertain—Milton Friedman in the *Wall Street Journal* counts more than twenty such breakdowns since 1945, but points out that he is omitting the numerous crashes "from Diocletian's Rome to World War II."

Yet there is never any lack of finance ministers and economists anxious to put Humpty Dumpty back together again. Since they don't realize that they are attempting the impossible, they will keep on trying. And that's a prediction.

■ I am indebted to K. L. Billingsley in the always informative *Heterodoxy* magazine for a profound truth from Jean Cocteau: "The trouble with the modern world is that stupidity has begun to think." Mr. Billingsley sees this illustrated in the political-correctness drive in American universities, but it is displayed almost as vividly in the tactics of the presidential campaign.

What else explains the servile attention both presidential campaigns paid to Ross Perot, with high-powered delegations scurrying down to Dallas to submit to the interrogation of his

hired hands? If Mr. Perot eventually orders his volunteers to order him to run for President, these deputations will have made him look almost imperial.

And if not, neither he nor his fifty state coordinators can "deliver" the voters he seduced and betrayed. Indeed, an endorsement from the little fellow might drive most of them away. As it is, the public probably despises those bidding for his approval.

Here was a chance for Governor Clinton to look "presidential" and for President Bush to demonstrate conviction. All they had to do was to declare to some waiting camera: "I've told my people to have nothing whatever to do with that jerk. If he wants to run for President, let him get on with it. The American people know how to deal with a flirt."

No doubt Mr. Perot would have sought revenge. Too late. His true worth would have been established. And his true stature would have been clear. It is hard to hurl thunderbolts from Lilliput.

■ Readers with good memories will recall our St. Valentine's Day competition. A Vassar student group called Choice had sent out condoms so that students might celebrate the Saint's day in safety, but then discovered the condoms to be defective. Contributors were asked to imagine Romeo's explanation to Juliet, or vice versa.

Embarrassingly, the best entries came from people connected with NATIONAL REVIEW. The winner, NR director Frank O'Connell, completed the plot by selecting single lines from different scenes to construct this star-crossed dialogue:

JULIET: "Is thy news good or bad,
answer to that?"

ROMEO: "More light and light,—more
dark and dark our woes! . . .

Thou wilt propagate . . ."

A bottle of champagne to Mr. O'Connell.
—JOHN O'SULLIVAN

■ He's back! But this time **Ross Perot** is greeted with less respect and more giggles. Former Perot campaign manager **Ed Rollins** wrote in *New York Times* that re-entry into the race "would matter little in the final results," and warned Perot that as a third-party leader, "You're no **Teddy Roosevelt**." . . . Ex-President **Gerald Ford** told *Washington Post*, "Don't be so naïve as to believe the volunteers will have anything to do with it. It will be determined by his own egotism." . . . *Texas Eagle* thinks that, whether as third candidate or as above-the-fray kingmaker, Perot would be more inclined to help **Bill Clinton** than **George Bush**—partly because Clinton is more likely to accept Perot's tax remedies (which, after all, were drafted by former **Carter** budget official **John P. White**). . . . In New York City, Rev. **Calvin Butts**, who took some flak from establishment black leaders for supporting Perot first time around, sees Perot's intervention as helping Bush by confusing the electorate. . . . **Mike Wallace** didn't make friends by calling in to **Larry King** show when Perot was on: "What is it that you get on the Larry King show, Mr. Perot, that you don't get on *Face the Nation* or *Meet the Press* or the **Brinkley** show? Is it the softballs that my friend Larry throws at you?" . . . Meanwhile, in the first two parties: Latest twist on Clinton's draft evasion: he told *Army Times* he wished he had been "more coherent" in his various accounts, but that the bottom line was he "deeply opposed the war. I didn't want to go. I don't mind anyone knowing that." . . . Reacting to reaction to his Republican Convention speech, **Pat Buchanan** wrote in *Human Events*: "We Americans are locked in a cultural war for the soul of our country . . . [the L.A. mobs came] out of public schools from which the Bible and the Ten Commandments were long ago excluded . . . out of movie theaters and away from TV sets where sex and violence are romanti-

cized . . . out of churches that long ago gave themselves up to social action."

■ Chutzpah award: In South Carolina, 26-year incumbent Sen. **Ernest "Fritz" Hollings** is being vigorously challenged by Republican businessman and former congressman **Tommy Hartnett**. S.C. voters have already turned out seven members of state legislature, so *Hollings*, of all people, is running anti-incumbent commercials, blaming it on "those boys in Washington." . . . **Lynn Yeakel**, who launched "Year of the Woman" when she got nomination to oppose GOP Sen. **Arlen Specter** in Pennsylvania, is slipping in polls. Modified good news for conservatives, who would have loved to see Specter defeated for his vote against **Robert Bork**—but not for his questioning of **Anita Hill**. . . . In Indiana, staunch conservative **Dan Coats**, who entered Senate in 1988, when he took seat vacated by **Dan Quayle**, is running way ahead of liberal Secretary of State **Joe Hogsett**. . . . Second chutzpah award: Sen. **Kent Conrad** (D., N.D.) was retiring because of a 1986 campaign pledge that he would not seek re-election if the nation's deficit had not improved. But when fellow N.D. Sen. **Quentin Burdick** (D.) died



"Just get up there, stand on the edge, and think of the economy."

last month, Conrad entered race to fill out his term. He told *Roll Call*: No new pledges: such vows "tie the hands of those who really want to work to lower the deficit." . . . Solid conservative **Alan Keyes**—**Jeane Kirkpatrick**'s deputy at UN in first **Reagan** term—is running uphill race against perfectly Left (ACU rating: 0) **Barbara Mikulski** (D., Md.). . . . In Arizona, Dem. **Claire Sargeant**—given little chance to defeat GOP incumbent **John McCain**—is having some fun. She complained that critics accuse women of implying: "I've got breasts—vote for me." Why not? she asked. "After all, we've been voting for boobs long enough." . . . In Washington, pro-choice State Sen. **Patty Murphy**, who describes herself as "just a mom in tennis shoes," won Dem. nomination to succeed **Brock Adams**—forced to retire under charges of sexual harassment. Abortion is not expected to be an issue in race against Republican Rep. **Rod Chandler**, but other Left-Right matters are. . . . Meanwhile, in other chamber, Mass. Republicans have a couple of real chances to get someone back in House, from which they have been shut out since Gypsy Moth Rep. **Silvio Conte** died. **Peter Blute** is challenging old-line Democrat **Joe Early** of Worcester, and **Peter Torkildsen** is challenging **Nicholas Mavroules** of Peabody. Bay State party could find nobody at all willing to oppose **Joseph Kennedy II** in Boston.

■ On the cultural front, bad news: William Morrow has paid \$150,000 advance to **Lionel Dahmer**, father of serial cannibal **Jeffrey**. . . . Good news: **John A. Howard** and **Thomas Fleming** announced the winners of the 1992 Ingersoll Prizes: novelist **Muriel Spark** will receive the T. S. Eliot Award for Creative Writing; classicist and historian **Walter Burkert** will receive Richard M. Weaver Award for Scholarly Letters. Awards will be given in Chicago, Nov. 12.

■ Philadelphia orthodontist **Warren Graboyes**, who lost his license after fondling a teenage female patient, sued his insurance company for \$5,000 a month in disability payments. The disability: "frotteurism," described as a compulsion to touch the private parts of females. The insurance company is fighting back.

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THE WEEK

■ Make that Boss Perot.

■ The Perot phenomenon began as a Frank Capra movie, evolved into Robert Altman, and is now heading for Mel Brooks territory. If you haven't been following the story, you'll think we're kidding when we note that Perot's national coordinator is named Orson Swindle. Anyway, the Bush and Clinton campaigns have sent ambassadors to grovel at the court of the tiny Texan tease, as he pretends to be keeping his considerable ears cocked to hear the wishes of his followers. Democracy may not be the worst form of government, but damned if it ain't the silliest.

■ But late-breaking news: Intelligent Life in the Bush Campaign. The President's offer of four debates—two under his rules, two under those of the bi-partisan commission—both acquits him of the “chicken” charge and threatens Mr. Clinton with the journalistic grilling that a President cannot stoop to. Of course, it would also mean that in two debates he of the scrambled syntax would be getting into the ring with Mr. Smoothie. The risk thing there is, hey, not kidding around. But Mr. Clinton faces some risks too, and subtle ones. Presidential debates are best judged with the sound turned down: a general impression of authority counts for more than consecutive argument. Indeed, one sharp jab can outweigh reams of policy analysis from a wonk. Watch a rerun of the Reagan–Carter debate. Nor should Mr. Bush be underestimated as a bare-knuckle fighter—ask Dan Rather. Above all, debates will dramatize the point that the election is less a verdict on the last four years than a choice between Bush and Clinton for the next four.

■ If election day *does* go well for Bill Clinton, however, what about the day after? Mr. Clinton has been campaigning against “12 years of Reagan–Bush,” although if he were running against Ronald Reagan, or even a Reaganite Bush, he would be heading for a footnote in the history books under Walter Mondale and Michael Dukakis. The media, old enemies of Reaganism, have accepted the formulation—indeed, they invented it—so that a Bush

defeat will be played as conservatism's Waterloo. Mr. Bush's last-minute embrace of religious conservatives—less qualified than Reagan's because Reagan was more trusted by them—has enabled the press to exaggerate what was a caricature in the first place. George Bush has governed as a moderate Republican in a bi-partisan alliance with a Democratic Congress. But if he goes down, his defeat will be interpreted as a repudiation of Ronald Reagan, Adam Smith, and Jesus Christ.

■ And rumor has it that budget director Richard Darman, expecting a Clinton victory, plans to blame it on a) Reagan's deficits and b) James Pinkerton, the White House's advocate of the “New Paradigm” approach to government. The rumor has fed suspicions that Mr. Darman owns a doll with pins in it—but doesn't own a mirror.

■ The New Jersey Department of Health has proposed a state health plan whose chapter on addictions targets five problem substances or behaviors—alcohol, drugs, tobacco, overeating, and gambling. The problems are severe: “one-quarter of Americans,” according to the planners, “cannot control their eating,” while 8.9 per cent of the state's population—nearly 700,000 people—are “problem or pathological gamblers.” The damage caused by addiction is not limited to addicts themselves, but extends to “co-dependents”—family members living with addicts who develop “adjustment disorders” leading to “loss of self-esteem, inauthenticity, manipulation, anger, stress, and other unhealthy responses.” The planners urge the state to screen for addicts in courts, schools, and job-assistance programs, and to help them “recognize that they need help.” We have ways of making you slim.

■ “LATINOS FACE UPHILL FIGHT FOR COLLEGE DREAMS,” reads a headline in the *Los Angeles Times*. The





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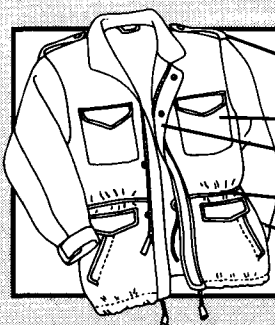
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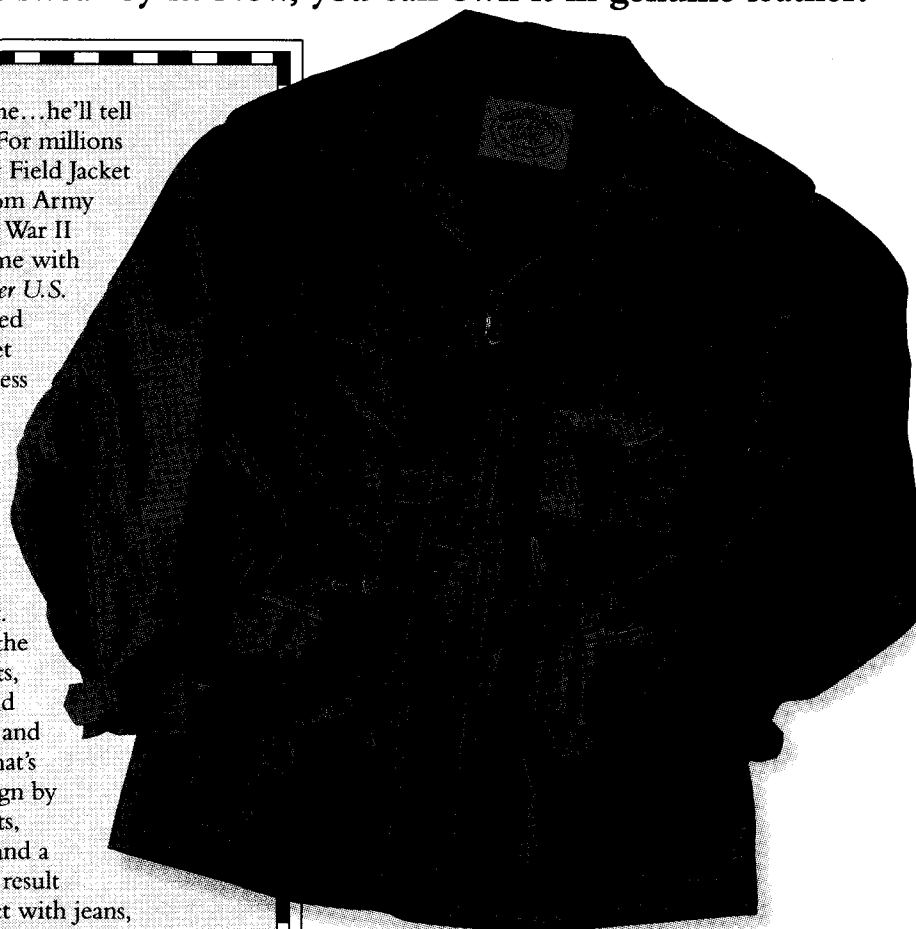


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dream in question is one of getting the California taxpayers to pay most of your California State University fees even though you are an illegal alien—and even though American citizens who are not Californians are denied the subsidy. A Los Angeles Superior Court has just ruled, in a case brought by the Santa Monica-based American Association of Women and a coalition of 24 immigration-reform groups, that the Cal State administrators must obey a 1990 decision and charge full fees. But the administrators have been fighting tooth and nail. Incredibly, they may appeal. And Governor Pete Wilson has just had to veto an attempt by their legislative allies to undo the rule. Just another day in the deconstruction of America.

■ Kentucky legalized sodomy, apparently on the grounds that what people do in the privacy of their bedroom is just as protected as what Kentucky legislators do to taxpayers in public.

■ Mugged over Maastricht (a/k/a the “Treaty of European Union”) by Danish and French voters, clobbered by currency-market speculation against the “Exchange Rate Mechanism” (a/k/a the Deutsche Mark standard), Europe’s political elites are in trouble. Serves them right. Put aside for the moment the obvious reality that Brussels is aiming at an autarkic Europe, whose neo-mercantilist ambitions are already clashing with U.S. interests—for example, over their agriculture subsidies—to the point where the GATT process of international trade liberalization is seriously threatened. And put aside the emerging reality that Brussels’ exclusionary trade tactics are crippling post-Communist Eastern Europe’s efforts to rejoin the civilized world. The fact remains that what the European political elites are trying to do is inherently absurd: merging great nations as if they were made of Silly Putty, and corraling all their currencies into one—thus putting their economies at risk for a misconceived symbol that requires price-fixing so massive that world financial stability is undermined. Helmut Kohl and François Mitterrand have responded to the chaos caused by their utopian supranationalism—and to Britain’s

nervous declaration of monetary independence—by hinting at a French–German–Benelux currency union that would relegate Britain, Denmark, and lesser breeds to Europe’s “slow lane.” That should be fine with us. A “two-tier Europe” would almost certainly evolve into a Franco-German central core—the socialist and thus uncompetitive “fast lane”—and a larger, less-regulated free-trade area that would incorporate (and stabilize) Eastern Europe and admit U.S. goods more easily. Inevitably, the State Department is against it.

■ Jesse Helms, ranking Republican on the sleepy Senate Foreign Relations Committee, hit paydirt with a report on Nicaragua drafted by the Republican staff of the Committee. The thrust was that President Violeta Chamorro’s government has received over \$1 billion in U.S. aid in the last two years (second only to Israel as a per-capita aid recipient), and yet the Communist Sandinistas still control the army, the police, the intelligence services, the courts, and much of the bureaucracy. Very little of the property that the Sandinistas had confiscated from U.S. citizens has been returned. Former Contras are being hunted down and killed. Waste, fraud, and abuse are pervasive in the use of U.S. funds. The heart of the problem lies in the sinister relationship between the Sandinistas and Antonio Lacayo, Mrs. Chamorro’s chief-of-staff (and son-in-law)—a sharing of power to which the Sandinistas are not entitled, since they were voted out of office in a landslide two and a half years ago, and which postpones the day of Nicaragua’s true liberation. Senator Helms wants to block any further disbursement of U.S. aid. We too see little sense in our financing a Sandinista-led government. Mrs. Chamorro must choose.

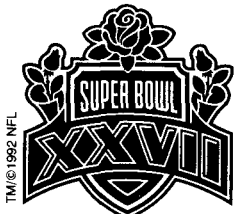
■ The good news is that Congress is about to pass a bill tightening the economic embargo on Communist Cuba. It has had overwhelming bi-partisan support (including from Bill Clinton, who knows how to count Florida electoral votes). The Bush Administration, which had introduced its own sanctions-tightening bill, grumbled for a time about the extraterritorial reach of the new law’s ban on trade by foreign subsidiaries of U.S. firms. But the Administration yielded to political reality. There are some serious foes of Fidel who think that, on the contrary, opening up Cuba to outside economic and political influences would be a better way to subvert the regime. We’re not so sure; we see no reason to take the chance that the economic boost might prop Castro up a little longer. Orphaned by the Soviets, he is on his last legs anyhow. Stepping up the pressure seems the prudent course.

■ White South Africans who fear that President de

Booze Matter

I once tried to throttle
An empty wine bottle
While under the spell of Chianti,
But thanks to hypnosis,
A shrink’s diagnosis
Directed my mayhem at Auntie.

W. H. VON DREELE



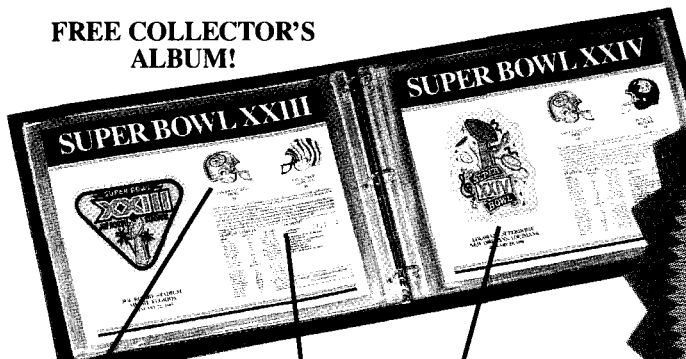
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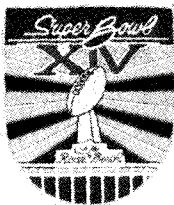
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Los Angeles Rams 19
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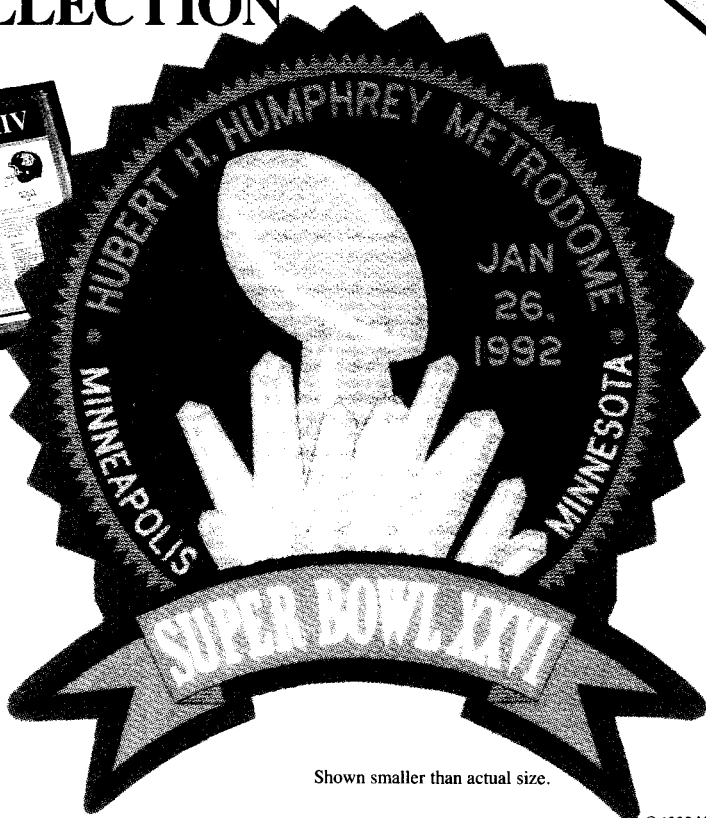


XVII Washington Redskins 27
Miami Dolphins 17
January 30, 1983

Lombardi's finale.



II Green Bay Packers 33
Oakland Raiders 14
January 14, 1968



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Klerk will wind up turning the country over to an ANC in which the most influential faction is the South African Communist Party count for little with the international press. But it is harder to ignore a black leader, even if he is tainted by a taste for free-market economics and by a willingness to talk with the government. Hence the front-page coverage given to Chief Buthelezi's denunciation of the latest twist in negotiations between the government and the ANC. His anger was prompted by de Klerk's statement that he would seek a ban of the "cultural weapons" traditionally carried by Zulus, which was prompted in turn by the township massacre in Boipatong. What the papers skate over is that that massacre had been provoked by a previous massacre of Zulus by ANC gangs. No, the Zulus are not the only victims here—but neither are they the only aggressors. What the ongoing war between the ANC and Inkatha shows is that some form of power sharing and checks and balances is indispensable if a post-National Party South Africa is to have a chance. Handing over power to the ANC would doom not only the whites.

■ Appearing on ABC's *Viewpoint*, Reed Irvine of Accuracy in Media raised anew the Gennifer Flowers story—but from an angle that has been covered only by *New York Newsday*. The serious allegation is not *sex per se*; it's that Bill Clinton had Miss Flowers hired for a state job in place of another woman (black, as it happens) who had a better claim to it. The other woman's complaint was upheld in a grievance procedure, but a Clinton crony rejected the finding and recommendation. Mr. Clinton seems to be referring to this on the notorious tape when Miss Flowers expresses her concern about prying reporters: "If they ever ask if you've talked to me about it," he says, "you can just say no." That Mr. Clinton should have unabashedly advised Miss Flowers to lie is interesting both for itself, and for what it implies, namely a cover-up. But the media seem to be using the sex angle as an excuse for *not* pursuing this story, as if to do so would be an invasion of Clinton's private life. This misses the point that the apparent scandal here is not adultery but favoritism. If Clinton had promoted his brother or a former aide over a more qualified person, that would be obvious. But Mr. Clinton is the beneficiary of the discretionary journalism that has become a salient feature of the 1992 campaign. If the story ever gets play, you can bet it will be after November 3.

■ Chrysler Corporation has announced it won't renew its joint corporate advertising program with Time Warner in part because of the media giant's distribution of the rap number "Cop Killer." "We have a responsibility to our employees and shareholders to apply strict measures of quality," a Chry-

■ Reprints of "The Real Reagan Record," from the August 31 special issue, are now available. Prices are \$2 for individual copies and \$45 for 25 copies. Bulk prices are available upon request. Please mail your order to NATIONAL REVIEW, Attention: Reagan Reprint, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

ler spokesman told the *Wall Street Journal*. "Advocating the murder of police goes beyond the bounds of free and responsible speech." Dear Mr. Iacocca, we take it all back.

■ Gore Vidal's latest is *Live from Golgotha*, in which Jesus appears as "a cruel and crazy fanatical Zionist," in the words of Andrew Greeley, and St. Timothy is bugged by the Emperor Nero (who tells him to "tighten those cute little buns"). The reviewers are falling all over each other with tolerance. David Gates of *Newsweek* hails Vidal's "intelligence, wit, and imagination." Martha Duffy of *Time* squeals with delight at his "teasingly naughty humor." John Rechy, in the *Los Angeles Times*, calls him "audacious and courageous. . . . The concept of a fat, waddling Jesus is salubriously comic." Herbert Mitgang of the *New York Times* purrs, "There's no denying Mr. Vidal's talent to entertain and outrage." But outrage whom, precisely? Not Mr. Gates, Miss Duffy, Mr. Rechy, or Mr. Mitgang, who plainly find Mr. Vidal's blasphemies a tremendous hoot. The victims of this irreverence are principally Christians, to a lesser extent Jews, and all who believe that the deepest beliefs of most Americans and the founding tradition of our civilization should not be treated with chic pornographic contempt.

■ A wire-story headline advises, "Plan to circumvent abortion gag rule vetoed." Good news! No, bad news. No, it must be good news. Gag rules are bad unless it's liberals calling something a gag rule; then it's good. Things that are vetoed are bad. Vetoes are good. Yes, sir, this is good news, we think.

Bush v. Bush v. Clinton

GEORGE BUSH'S political fortunes reached their present pass because for four years he has been dogged by a tenacious enemy who has been undermining his achievements at every turn. Not Bill Clinton, of course, but George Bush.

There has been good in the Bush record. Conservative unhappiness with him takes its keenness from the fact that he gave promise of being better—promise that was at times fulfilled. George Bush nominated, and stuck by, Clarence Thomas—an act of

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courage, and of political prescience. Desert Storm freed Kuwait, and contained Saddam's ambitions. Mr. Bush has pushed for more open markets in the Uruguay round of GATT and in the North American Free Trade Agreement. He has been staunch on abortion and judicial appointments.

We will not rehearse again all the failures of the Bush years. But we cannot outline the choice before the American people without first considering the central economic blunders which have produced, first, a stubborn recession and, second, Mr. Bush's present political straits. According to a persuasive analysis by Robert Genetski and Associates of Chicago, the regulatory burden of the Clean Air Act and the Americans with Disabilities Act amounted to a tax of \$70 billion. The 1990 budget deal represented another \$33.2 billion in actual taxes. When you add on the last four years of increased Social Security and Medicare taxes, and the costs to corporations due to changes in depreciation mandated by the Tax Reform Act of 1986, you get a total burden of almost \$230 billion. The President's advisors, concludes Genetski, "unknowingly saddled him and the economy with President Carter's economic program." And so with President Carter's economic results.

But Mr. Genetski also offers some good news: in 1993, for the first time in many years, there are no new tax or regulatory burdens scheduled. So the costs, although heavy, will not increase over what they were in 1992. As the economy absorbs them, therefore, productivity and living standards should gradually improve. And this is so even if, as seems all too likely, a victorious Mr. Bush fails to get any tax or regulatory *cuts* through a hostile Congress. The economic outlook is very different for a Clinton Presidency. President Clinton would repeal almost none of our present burdens and add many more. He wants a middle-income tax cut of \$20 billion. But that would be more than offset by a pay-or-play health plan that would saddle business with benefits costing between \$110 and \$124 billion; by mandated worker training set-asides costing another \$15 to \$30 billion; and by direct income- and business-tax

increases amounting to \$31 billion. Since President Clinton would be working with a Democratic Congress which has been advocating such programs for years, he would probably get what he wants—and quickly. The resulting \$150-billion-odd tax and regulatory hike would be, according to Mr. Genetski, "the largest one-year tax increase in history"—a record broken at shorter and shorter intervals.

So the economic consequences of President Bush, though bad, have already been endured, while those of President Clinton are yet to come—and would be worse. This economic argument is the strongest case with most voters for supporting Mr. Bush. Ironically, it is an argument that the Bush-Quayle campaign cannot make.

Prisoners of Our Past

THE INK was barely dry on the January 1973 Paris Agreement when the North Vietnamese began violating its most important provisions, particularly their solemn commitment to return U.S. prisoners of war and help account for our missing in action. After years of bitter negotiation, the North Vietnamese had finally accepted these explicit obligations. Yet the lists of POWs that Hanoi produced were blatantly incomplete. In scores of cases, U.S. pilots or other servicemen were known to have reached the ground alive or been captured alive—yet they turned up on no list, either of live POWs or of those who had died in captivity. Henry Kissinger, then National Security Advisor, visited Hanoi shortly after the Agreement was signed and presented detailed evidence on eighty of these cases directly to the highest leadership of Hanoi's Politburo, requesting a full explanation. Repeated protests, public and private, were made over the years. We never received that explanation.

Nonetheless, the fact that a pilot had hit the ground alive was no guarantee that he was still alive months, even years, later, by the time the Agreement was reached. In fact, the prevailing assessment in the U.S. Government in 1973 was that the men were dead. In Laos, where the largest proportion of the so-called "discrepancy" cases had occurred, the brutality of the enemy and of the terrain argued especially strongly against survival. The North Vietnamese seemed to have nothing to gain from holding back live prisoners, but maybe reason to conceal cases of captives killed in circumstances whose brutality would have been embarrassing.

Many of these men continued to be carried on our books as POWs for a time, in the absence of verification of death, and many Pentagon officials remained convinced that some must still have been alive. Over the years, reported sightings of live Americans in In-

A Change in Emphasis

Buchanan's wrapped in winding sheets
And Robertson's on ice,
While Mrs. Quayle, like Hillary,
Is programmed to be nice,
Which brings to mind my sister's cats,
Who've had their profiles bobbed,
And now behave sedately while
Meowing, "We wuz robbed."

W. H. VON DREELE

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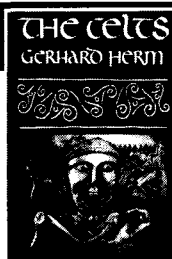
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The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846–1890 by Robert M. Utley

88-8490. Pub. price \$19.95

Let Me Be Free: A Nez Percé Tragedy by David Lavender

88-0752. Pub. price \$30



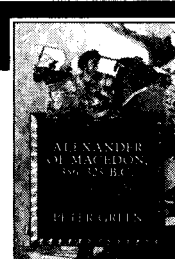
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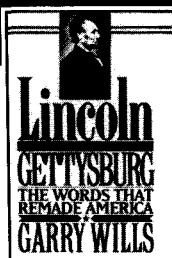
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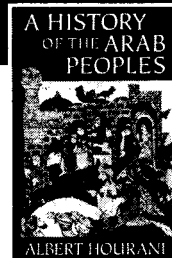
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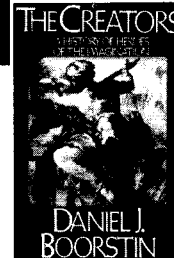
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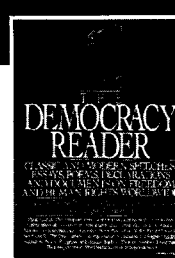
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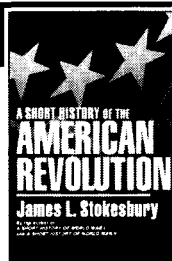
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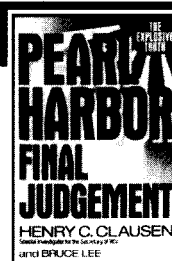
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dochina—none of which have ever been corroborated—raised both the hopes of the families and the suspicion of a cover-up by our government.

In this environment, the Senate Select Committee on POW/MIA Affairs was created in 1991, chaired by Vietnam vet (and antiwar activist) Senator John Kerry. It had an opportunity to do a service to the country by clearing up the unanswered questions in an unbiased, serious manner. No such luck. Its September hearings on the Paris Agreement were marred by selective leaks from documents, and by a

press campaign indicting Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger before either man's testimony was heard. The media played up comments by former Defense Secretaries Melvin Laird, Elliot Richardson, and James Schlesinger about the possibility of men left behind—based not on any new evidence but entirely on their speculations. These leaks suggested a Committee leadership and staff whose eagerness to find scapegoats exceeded their understanding of the documentary evidence at their disposal.

Dr. Kissinger and members of his negotiating

RIGHT DATA

Clintonomics Exposed

BILL CLINTON'S plan to spend our way out of economic malaise has drawn generally favorable reviews from the media. A detailed analysis prepared for Representative Dick Armey of the Joint Economic Committee (JEC) shows, however, that far more jobs would be destroyed than created:

Defense Cuts. Mr. Clinton would cut defense outlays by \$58.5 billion more than the reductions already requested by President Bush for 1993–1996. The result: 240,685 more jobs lost in 1993 than under the Administration's proposal.

Health Care. By requiring employers to either provide health-care coverage for employees (pay), or contribute 7 per cent of payroll to finance a government-operated program (pay), the Clinton health-care plan would increase employment costs by \$42 billion, and force employers to lay off 710,000 workers in the first year. Forty-three per cent of the job loss would occur in businesses that employ fewer than 20 workers.

Minimum Wage. Mr. Clinton has endorsed the notion of indexing the minimum wage to inflation. Had such an adjustment been made in 1991, the minimum wage would have increased by 4.2 per cent, displacing 42,021 low-wage workers.

Family and Medical Leave. Mr. Clinton has promised to sign the bill, twice vetoed by President Bush, requiring employers to provide three months of unpaid leave with health benefits to new mothers and to those taking care of a sick relative. This mandate would raise labor costs by more than \$3.3 billion, translating into 60,000 lost jobs.

Environment. A carbon tax designed to cap CO₂ emissions at 1990 levels could reduce GNP by up to 2 per cent by the year 2000, and put 195,000 workers out of work as early as 1993. The Democratic ticket has also pledged to raise the average

automobile fuel economy standard from the present 27.5 mpg to 45 mpg. Assuming a four-year, 3-4-5-5 mpg phase-in, the first-year employment loss would be 75,840 jobs.

Tax Hikes. A new higher tax bracket for the top roughly 2 per cent of taxpayers, a 10 per cent surtax on millionaires, and higher taxes on corporations that invest abroad will reduce private-sector investment in this country. The JEC estimates that 437,000 jobs would be lost.

Job Training Tax. The "Lifetime Learning" initiative would require employers to spend at least 1.5 per cent of their payrolls on worker education and training programs, thereby adding \$21 billion to the \$16 billion that employers already spend on such programs. The new payroll tax would force the dismissal of 265,000 workers in its first year.

Government Downsizing. The Putting People First plan promises to reduce federal administrative expenses by \$15 billion annually. This will require eliminating 100,000 government jobs. (Though that one's hard to oppose.)

And the job gains? The Clinton people claim that spending an additional \$23 billion annually on highways, high-speed rail, and other public infrastructure will create 275,000 jobs directly, and many times more indirectly, as the economy responds to the spending stimulus. Unfortunately, there is no evidence that public spending exerts the kind of "multiplier" effect Keynesians claim for it. Indeed, if such a relationship existed, our present problems would have vanished long ago.

As a practical matter, an acceleration in public-works spending may be difficult to achieve. Only 60 per cent of the funds authorized under the current highway bill, for example, have been spent by the states. New funding would either remain unspent or be wasted on pork-barrel projects.

The bottom line for Clintonomics? A net loss of over 1.8 million jobs, and an unemployment rate 1.5 points above what it would otherwise be.

—ED RUBENSTEIN

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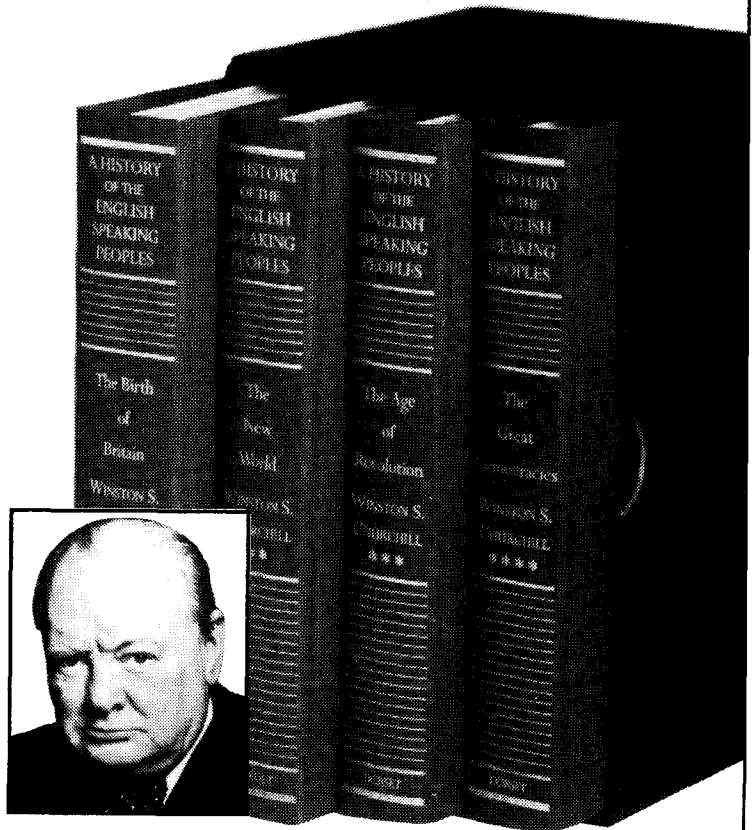
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team (among them, *NR* Senior Editor Peter Rodman) made a powerful case that Nixon and Kissinger had been given no convincing evidence that live POWs were still retained, and had made a determined effort to press the North Vietnamese to live up to their commitment on the MIAs—that is, until American leverage had been abruptly undermined by an antiwar Democratic Congress determined to drive us out of Indochina on almost any terms. Both the stick of military pressure and the carrot of possible economic cooperation with Hanoi had been *banned by law* during the first half of 1973, over Nixon's and Kissinger's passionate objections. Aside from the treacherous Stalinists in Hanoi, who are the real villains, it is the antiwar movement and the Democratic Congress of the day who bear the most blame for our inability to compel an honest accounting of our men.

The opportunity for a fair and meticulous investigation is still open. We hope the Senate Select Committee will now take it, above all for the sake of the prisoners' families, whose emotions have been toyed with by demagogues for twenty years.

Divorce, Clinton-Style

HILLARY CLINTON, meet Gregory Kingsley? It is unfair to the 12-year-old Florida boy who successfully "divorced" himself from his parents to associate him with the world view of our First Lady in waiting. By most standards, he has already been burdened with enough in his short life. Yet, Gregory's case nonetheless foreshadows a social regime of which only a board member of the Children's Defense Fund (such as Mrs. Clinton) could be enamored—adversarially defined family rights, children with standing to sue parents, and lawyers in robes empowered to create rules and precedents for evaluating parental conduct.

When Mrs. Clinton says that "children should have a right to be permitted to decide their own futures if they are competent," she is unmistakably calling for such a regime. No, not merely, as her attendants in the media say, when children have been subject to physical abuse or incest, but also with regard to such matters as "abortion, schooling, cosmetic surgery, employment, and others where the decision or lack of one will significantly affect the child's future."

In Mrs. Clinton's world, there will be a children's rights bar, legal counselors in the junior high schools, a growing library of legal treatises on juvenile rights, five-part Supreme Court tests for determining which parental decisions "significantly affect" children's futures, Ivy League law-review essays on youthful self-esteem and the due-process

clause, and bipartisan congressional initiatives to enforce the latest judicial emanation on the entitlements of children.

The social impact of all this will be subtle in the same way that the social impact of earlier legal revolutions in obscenity, school prayer, abortion, welfare, and divorce has been subtle. The state will have a basis for wanting to know more about the family life of children, third parties will be encouraged to intrude more quickly, and parental authority will be eroded as such practices as corporal punishment and restrictions on social relationships are questioned through well-publicized lawsuits.

It is not to ignore Gregory Kingsley's plight to suggest that this transformation in the legal "rights" of children will work to the benefit neither of children nor of society. Reforms in foster-care procedure, while less glamorous, would do far more good.

But there is a genuine issue of "family values" here that deserves public debate. Such a debate, however, must recognize that Hillary Clinton and Marion Wright Edelman feel just as deeply about their own conception of "family values" as do Marilyn Quayle and Barbara Bush. Gregory Kingsley's lawsuit—as well as such issues as abortion without parental notification, sexual preference as a civil-rights category, and condom distribution in schools—is based upon a genuinely alternative vision of American society. Unless that is recognized and the issue joined, "family values" will remain essentially meaningless rhetoric. The Republican Party's feel-good display of the Bush family may warm the voters' hearts; it will win no votes, however. Nor should it.

Axis Sally

BOTH Germany and Japan have now sallied forth with requests to become Permanent Members of the UN Security Council. It's a sticky dilemma for the rest of us. Of the five current veto-holding Permanent Members, so anointed by specific provision of the Charter—the U.S., UK, France, Russia, and China—fully four of them are clearly less weighty today than the non-member Germans and Japanese. Their status as defeated foes loses its force in the light of today's economic realities and their honorable conduct as democratic allies for 47 years. The dream that a united Europe would someday take the UK and French seats has evaporated since Maastricht (and was never a dream much shared in London and Paris anyway.)

The West must tread carefully. Another excuse used to put off the two claimants has been that they play no military role in today's world, while the Security Council is charged with heavy responsibilities

for international peace and security. The danger here is that both Germany and Japan have set about, accordingly, to throw off their constitutional or statutory inhibitions against the use of military power, ostensibly so they can take part in UN peacekeeping operations. Nothing would be more destabilizing in Europe and in Asia than to have Germany and Japan begin to translate their economic strength into military strength—a problem that has been avoided for four decades by tying these countries securely to the United States. We should not be in the business of magnifying their incentives to go military.

Some other creative solution is needed. Perhaps a two-tier grouping of Permanent Members, with the second tier of new members (including, probably inevitably, some big Third World country such as Brazil) not being given a full veto. Or else, institutionalizing the G-7 in some way as a Political Directorate of the democracies. Whatever is done, the NATO integrated command and the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty must be reconfirmed as the linchpin of these countries' security policies. *That* is a more important consideration than whether they get a front-row seat at the UN's psychodrama.

The Gay Vice Squad

JOHAN SCHLAFLY, 41-year-old lawyer son of Phyllis Schlafly, has admitted that he is a homosexual, to great cackles at his mother's expense. *Newsweek* jeered that her "family life has been something less than the *Ozzie and Harriet* ideal so righteously extolled by conservatives." The columnist Richard Cohen censured her, if not for gay-bashing, well then for giving her "silent approval" to gay-bashing.

In his column, Mr. Cohen casually mentioned a pertinent fact whose moral significance was lost on him: "A gay publication, New York's *QW*, had done a story, and certain journalists, myself included, had been sent anonymous announcements." The "story" that *QW* (stands for Queer Week) had done was an "outing"—a malicious exposure of John Schlafly to punish his mother for her opposition to gay-rights legislation. Mr. Cohen apparently saw nothing amiss in this method of dealing with political disagreement. It didn't strike him as suspicious that the notice he got was anonymous.

It was in response to his "outing" that Mr. Schlafly acknowledged his leanings. He did so with dignity and humor, defending his mother, the Republican platform, and Pat Buchanan against "screechy gay activists and Washington-based pressure groups." He said that he'd been amused by Mr. Buchanan's description of the Democratic Convention as an exer-

cise in ideological cross-dressing, and that, as far as he knew, Mr. Buchanan is not disposed to bother gays and lesbians in their private lives.

True enough, and that's the difference between Mr. Buchanan, Dan Quayle, Pat Robertson, and most conservatives, on the one hand, and the gay-liberal community on the other. It's hard to imagine the so-called gay-bashers and ayatollahs of the Right exposing a political foe as a homosexual—though it's easy to imagine the media reaction if they did.

Yet the media, though still furious about McCarthyism after all these years, have dropped any qualms they once had about "outing." If any major news organ indicated disapproval of the indecency against the Schlaflys, we missed it. So much for privacy. Not to mention free speech and fair play.

"Outing" is what used to be known as blackmail. And thanks to the "silent approval" of good liberals, blackmail now hangs over one side in the debate on gay rights. It's an attempt to intimidate opposition, with the tacit support of the news media.

In Harm's Way

THE TAILHOOK incident claimed its latest victims when two Navy admirals were retired, and one reassigned—men with a combined service of a hundred years—for failing to "provide effective leadership" in the service's probe of the sexual assaults. More senior officers are expected to be keelhauled by Sean O'Keefe, the 36-year-old Acting Secretary of the Navy.

Two of the admirals have protested their being "tried, convicted, and sentenced . . . without due process in a [Pentagon] report containing so many inaccuracies and distortions." Rear Admiral Duvall "Mac" Williams, commander of the Naval Investigative Service, was faulted both for an inadequate initial investigation of the incident and for appearing to display a "general hostility toward women in uniform"—this, mind you, without giving him a chance to present his side of the case.

The Pentagon, under pressure from Representa-

Larry King's Monster

Though Frankenstein's creators spun
A sequel based upon the son,
Who subsequently featured in
The Bride (who made the monster grin),
One reel on Ross Perot is all
I'll watch, from balcony or stall.

W. H. VON DREELE



"You'd better have a little talk with Billy—I found this National Endowment for the Arts pamphlet under his bed."

tive Pat Schroeder, is conducting a politicization of the military-justice system that dispenses with such formalities as trials. Once again the Bush Administration is trying to placate the implacable—and without regard to its own political base. In recent years there have been not one but *two* gender gaps, the larger one being the Republicans' edge among white males—67 per cent in the 1988 presidential election. That is the only one the Administration has managed to eliminate. Its handling of the Tailhook inquiry illustrates why.

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Dear WFB:

In case you were considering an "Oxymoron of the Decade" contest, don't bother. I have already found the winner. *Newsweek*: June 22, 1992 "... Jackson's National Rainbow Coalition brain trust." Wow!

Cordially,
Edward K. Krause
Ann Arbor, Mich.

Dear Mr. Krause: Okay, we transcend our rule against more oxymorons. Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Sir:

For shame, Mr. Buckley. "The average per-capita income in the U. S. . . . was \$16,444. What was the median income in California?" Why does that matter, if we're talking averages?

Okay, pay attention now. First, assemble the population of objects you want to study. From each member of the population, take a measurement. Rank the population by measurement, lowest to highest. The *average* measurement is that one that divides all the *measurements* into two equiponderant

parts. The *median* is the one that equally divides the *population*.

Suppose that from a population of four you extract these measurements: 2, 10, 12, 100. The *average* is 31, because 2, 10, and 12 are distant from 31 by a total of 69, which is also the distance from 100 to 31. The *median*, however, is 11, because two objects measure less than 11 and two measure more. If you replace 100 by 1,000, 1,000,000, 100,000,000 . . . then the average will increase without limit, but the median will always be 11. Thus the difference between average and median can be as large as you like.

For normal distributions (our old pal the bell-shaped curve), the average and the median are equal. If there's any skewing, however—the peak of the bell shifted to one side, or one of the "tails" longer or thicker than the other—then the two diverge. Income distributions are always heavily skewed. There are lots of poor people, but they're not that far from the middle class (from \$10,000 to \$50,000 is not far); there are few rich people, but they're wa-a-a-ay above everyone else (from \$50,000 to Ross Perot is quite a hike). Those rich people pull the average up, by having so terrifically much money; but they do little for the median, since there aren't many of them. Thus median incomes are always lower than average incomes.

Yours faithfully,
John Derbyshire
Huntington, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Derbyshire: You are correct, and unchallenged. But the weight of the income of the Perots doesn't do that much to alter the average because there aren't that many of them. Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Assuming that you, like William Safire, have a Gotcha Gang, I apply for membership. In your magazine and elsewhere, your book, *WindFall*, is advertised, starting off with a quotation from Stevenson's "Requiem"—"Home now is the sailor . . ." etc. That is probably my favorite epitaph, and it sounded wrong—so, I looked it up, and it *is* wrong.

The relevant verse reads "This be the verse you grave for me: / Here he lies where he long'd to be; / Home is the sailor, home from sea, / And the hunter home from the hill." No "now"—so says the *New Oxford Book of English Verse*. Erroneous ads notwithstanding, I plan to read the book, being an avid armchair sailor.

Sincerely yours,
Theresa Gallagher
Wallkill, N.Y.

Dear Miss Gallagher: Thanks for the elucidation. But you don't have to be an avid armchair sailor to come home to *WindFall*! Cordially, —WFB

ON THE SCENE

An Annoyingly Sensible Man

HAROLD JOHNSON

LONG BEACH
IT'S 3 P.M. on a sun-bleached September Saturday, but inside the dark-paneled sanctuary of the First Congregational Church it's high noon. Some 1,300 people have crowded in to see the first face-off between TV commentator Bruce Herschensohn and five-term Democratic Representative Barbara Boxer, the two candidates for the U.S. Senate seat being vacated by Alan Cranston. The excited buzz is a sign the audience knows the stakes: this race is America's hottest Senate duel, one of the GOP's best shots at picking up a seat, and the ideological showdown of the year.

It is also a chance for the Right to reassert its power in the Golden State's Republican Party and to offer the nation another leader in the mold of the last great California conservative. In fact, when Bruce Herschensohn terms himself "the keeper of Ronald Reagan's flame," he might be understating the case. Did even Reagan call for a sunset law for the EPA? Herschensohn also favors a (low) flat tax, education vouchers, repeal of quotas; he would order liposuction for the fat federal bureaucracy; he doesn't stress social issues, but he doesn't waver, either: he's pro-life.

Across the stage from Herschensohn stands Mrs. Boxer, his philosophical antipode, still true to the McGovernite faith. She's a long way from her natural habitat in the Bay Area. It shows. Although most of the partisans in the house are hers (NOW seems to have gotten the word out) and their catcalls at Herschensohn are full-throated, their moral support still doesn't give Mrs. Boxer the confidence to put away her half-inch stack of notes.

Herschensohn opens by zinging her votes on Congress's mandarin privileges: in favor of the 40 per cent pay



raise; against streamlined staffs and cuts in franking; against full disclosure of the check scandal (he doesn't mention the 143 checks she kited). Representative Boxer responds by ignoring the attack and reading—yes, *reading*—from her stump speech, with its calls for more federal dollars for jobs, education, and the environment, and its pro-abortion applause lines. There are clashes on defense (he would keep spending stable; she would slash); global warming (he's a skeptic; she's all fear and trembling); the Department of Education (she would "invest" in it; he would shut it down). He quiets laughter from the Boxer bleachers with the question: "Is there anyone here who thinks education is in better shape since this agency came into being?"

Through most of the sixty minutes, Mrs. Boxer succeeds in steering the focus away from her own record. She is aided by a format—really a joint press conference, with pre-selected audience questions—that facilitates evasion. Any future confrontations between the two are likely to be just as

unsatisfying, because Barbara Boxer seems determined to avoid honest-to-goodness, give-and-take debates. She has waved aside scores of invitations, including Herschensohn's own challenge to engage him up and down the state.

Maybe you can't blame her. For one thing, Herschensohn's quiet prowess is intimidating. As a commentator for 13 years on KABC-TV in Los Angeles (before that, he had been a filmmaker and an aide to President Nixon) he became Southern California's premier voice for undiluted conservatism. Night after night he left combatants from the Left sputtering in frustration (former Democratic Senator John Tunney was his most frequent—and most frequently defeated—sparring partner). A courtly manner, the sad-featured face of a favorite uncle, and an earnest, simple speaking style combine to forge a link with audiences that politicians in the GQ mold can only dream about. "The thing that annoys me is that he sounds so sensible," a liberal female attorney from Laguna Beach recently complained.

Mrs. Boxer is no slouch on the podium herself, at least not when preaching to believers. But freewheeling debates in front of broader audiences would be another thing; they would shine uncomfortable light on the ways Mrs. Boxer makes even Alan Cranston, the Senate's aging Lion of the Left, look like a centrist.

Barbara Boxer is a brash product of the left-liberal San Francisco machine founded by, among others, Willie Brown (now the Assembly's Speaker) and Mrs. Boxer's mentor, John Burton (a coke habit forced him to vacate his congressional seat in 1982, allowing her to claim it; Burton is now one of Willie Brown's key henchmen in the Assembly).

One political dictionary calls Barbara Boxer the "personification" of the politics of her district, a terrain that stretches from Haight-Ashbury to Marin County, a rare California county that recognized Michael Dukakis's leadership potential, awarding him 60 per cent of its vote.

Appropriately, as the representative from the Haight and the Fillmore, Mrs. Boxer is an artifact of Sixties-

Mr. Johnson, an editorial-page writer for the Orange County Register, is editor of NR West.

style enthusiasms, a time traveler from the Summer of Love. One of a small group of hard-core liberals on the House Armed Services Committee, she credits the nuclear-freeze movement with the collapse of Soviet Communism. She recommended for a Nobel Peace Prize the four scientists who organized a boycott of SDI research by 6,500 other academics. She opposed the Contras, stealth aircraft, the Patriot missile. Also the death penalty and any decency standards for NEA grants, even the least restrictive. Her fantasies include setting up a tax-supported National Endowment for the Homeless. Both the ACLU and the ADA have rated her in the 90s. Enviro-radical Jeremy Rifkin has called her his favorite House member.

AS a Marin County supervisor, Barbara Boxer urged immediate closure of all nuclear-power plants in California. Year after year she has linked arms with her chum from Berkeley, Representative Ron Dellums, in support of the Black Caucus budget, which would have cut defense outlays in half during the height of the cold war.

On the eve of Desert Storm, Representatives Boxer and Dellums introduced a resolution that would have required the President to surrender details about war plans, including such sensitive information as anticipated targets of terrorist attack. It crashed, 390 to 0, with Mrs. Boxer herself turning against it in the end.

The Desert Storm debate also gave her a chance to read aloud a lyric by the noted strategist, Bette Midler:

From a distance, you look like my friend, even though we are at war.

From a distance, I just can't comprehend what all this fighting's for.

When Mrs. Boxer had finished, a young female congressional aide won fame by loudly responding, "Isn't that disgusting? You just want to smack her."

Finally, the National Taxpayers Union tags her as the biggest spender in Congress in terms of the cost of measures she has sponsored. Her full wish list carries a price tag of more than \$400 billion.

The line on the race? Surveys through September had Herschensohn

about 18 points down—due in part to media fawning over Barbara Boxer in the Year of the Woman, along with the undertow from George Bush's troubles. But the gap will narrow once the TV advertising gets going. It's not unusual for statewide GOP candidates to be stragglers well into October: George Deukmejian was a distant second into early autumn of 1982 before going on to win the statehouse that year; Governor Pete Wilson also lagged badly before his victory in 1990. "The polls don't compensate for low-propensity voters," says Sacramento attorney Steve Merksamer, who managed the 1982 Deukmejian campaign. "Forty per cent of their sample aren't going to vote, and when those who will vote finally focus in on the election, later in October, you'll have a tight contest."

The state's tradition of ticket-splitting could come into play this year. Former San Francisco mayor Dianne Feinstein is favored in the other Senate race, over the terminally moderate John Seymour. "Are Californians ready to send two female Bay Area liberals to the Senate?" asks GOP consultant Wayne Johnson. "I'm doubtful." If one of the two Democrats loses, most observers expect it will be Barbara Boxer.

Certainly the fundamentals are there for a Bruce Herschensohn win: he has had a high profile in the most populous part of the state; his fund raising seems to be picking up momentum, especially the well-oiled direct-mail machine; and he has the issues, beginning with the arrogance of congressional incumbents. Barbara Boxer might talk about shaking up the Senate, but she first has to explain why she luxuriated in the perquisites of the House. Her spending mania is a made-to-order Herschensohn 30-second spot, and the message is simple enough to sink in without requiring saturation air time.

Although Herschensohn has little hope of polling big in the Bay Area, he ought to take the agricultural Central Valley, always an important battleground, once Mrs. Boxer's environmental extremism is exposed. And Herschensohn campaign manager Ken Khachigian (a one-time Nixon aide and the engineer of Attorney General Dan Lungren's victory two years ago) forecasts success in the suburban counties, from San Diego on north; the

key there, he believes, is to stress the Democrat's tax addiction and her desire to further squeeze defense outlays (the state's aerospace industries are already reeling from post-cold-war build-down).

And then there are the 143 bounced checks. Of the 46 triple-digit bouncers, reports *Roll Call*, 41 per cent have already lost or retired. Not a good omen for the representative from Marin. Provided, that is, that Herschensohn can be persuaded to pounce. For months he refused to mention his opponent's check-kiting, insisting on focusing only on his policy differences with her. But he is getting heavy pressure to make it part of his attack. "This is a legitimate issue—and quite frankly, he owes it to those who've donated to use it," says one contributor. Khachigian sounds confident that he'll get the go-ahead soon.

Mrs. Boxer will try to portray her opponent as a right-wing loon, but in fact his "radical" ideas about pruning federal agencies are looking less and less like campaign-crippling gaffes. With the state wallowing in recession, there is growing public awareness of the role that regulatory overkill plays in snuffing jobs; the EPA and other environmental totems are no longer beyond criticism.

POLLS don't measure intensity, one quality Herschensohn stalwarts boast in abundance. Thousands of Republican activists in Southern California have met "Bruce" many times over the years—and they speak warmly of him. The candidate's suite at the state GOP convention in September was a fire hazard, so many supporters had crammed in.

As George Bush lags by 25 points in California, he should light a candle in thanks for the Herschensohn candidacy. If any hope remains for the President in the Golden State, it could lie in Herschensohn's coattails. "He's the one thing that will bring the strong conservatives to the polls," says Steve Merksamer. That could mean a boost of as much as four points, he predicts—a crucial lift, if Clinton and Bush are running neck and neck here in November.

Herschensohn is the candidate who can get the volunteer battalions jazzed. Once again, a politician of conviction might have to show the pragmatists how to do things. □

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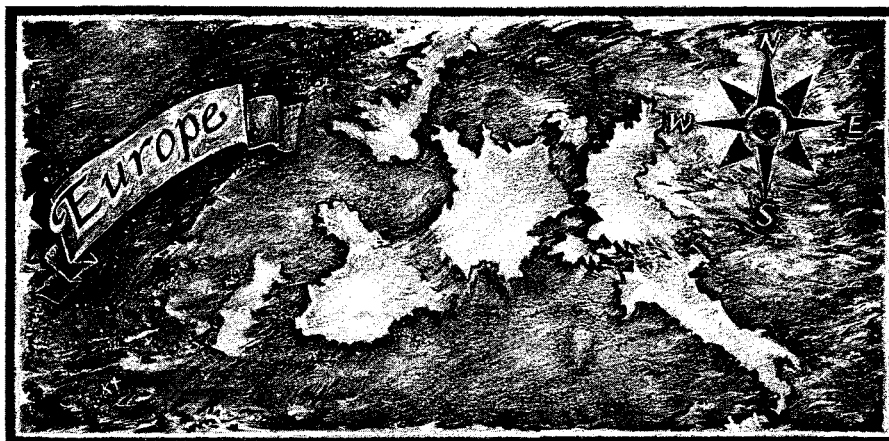
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Watch on the Rhine

ROGER KAPLAN



Katherine Trunk

THE FRENCH woke up on September 21 having commanded all Europe's attention in the fortnight before the referendum on the Maastricht Treaty, which would take the European Community further down the road to monetary and political union. But with a spread of just a few thousand votes between the ayes and the nays, and with chaos in the European currency markets, they were not sure they had commanded this attention for the right reasons.

Indeed, they were not even sure who had won. President Mitterrand, whose only coherent program for his second term is the construction of a French-led European union, and who had demanded a massive Yes? The leaders of the No vote, who in June, when the referendum was announced, had not dared dream of getting 40 per cent? Jacques Chirac and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, who argued that the victory-by-a-hair signified Yes to Europe and No to the Socialists and who said the campaign for the legislative elections of March 1993 was already under way?

Or what had won. Was union right because it is good for France economically? Or because it was the surest way to keep Germany firmly anchored in the Western liberal democratic camp? Was it right because Europe will become increasingly liberal? Or because only through "more Europe" does the welfare state have a future?

The European movement started as a scheme to prevent a fourth war

between France and Germany. But throughout the Seventies and Eighties the driving force of the EC was protected and regulated economic growth. The 1985 Single Act and the energy of Sir Leon Brittan gave some substance to the idea that liberal economics was taking over from politics as the *raison d'être* of the Community: a big free market without restrictions on movements of capital, people, and goods, and willing to work with the U.S. toward global free trade. There is no question that a great many people—among them more than a few Eurocrats and politicians—fought for this direction. But the protectionists kept the upper hand—two-thirds or more of the EC budget subsidizes agriculture; and regulations, often under the cover of environmentalism, have been creating what one anti-Maastricht French politician called "a uniform market" rather than a "single [free] market." Nevertheless, with the collapse of the socialist idea it seemed as if the free-marketeers had a pretty good shot at it, which is why liberals in Germany and even Great Britain gave somewhat grudging support to continued progress toward European union.

The competition between the two visions of Europe might have remained relatively undramatic, with bureaucratic politics in Brussels occasionally interrupted when public opinion forced some national leader to represent their grievances. This is what apparently happened last year when Euroskeptics pushed Britain's John Major into demanding modifications and exemptions to Maastricht. But by then the Soviet collapse and German unification had changed the nature of

the game. Throughout the summer of '92 partisans and opponents of Maastricht in France referred to the threat of East European anarchy and German power. Partisans argued that, now more than ever, the need to control Germany, if necessary through outright political union, was self-evident. Opponents argued that France would lose its ability to defend itself, economically, politically, you-name-it, if it lost its freedom of action.

In the week before the referendum, the currency markets' skepticism was clearer than the voters'. There was a run on the lira, which led to a run on the pound. By September 23 the pound and the lira were both out of the European Exchange-Rate Mechanism (ERM). After the vote, the currency markets became not more stable, but less. There was a run on several ERM currencies, notably the peseta and the French franc. Spain, Portugal, and Ireland found it necessary to reintroduce currency controls. (On January 1, 1993, all restrictions on the movement of capital within the EC are supposed to be lifted.) And the French franc came under severe pressure.

The day after the French results were in, President Mitterrand met in Paris with Chancellor Kohl. Immediately after this meeting, the Bundesbank came in to save the Gallic currency. Here was the independent German central bank acting politically—arguably at some cost to German taxpayers—to save the ERM, at least for the Franco-German currency relationship. Nor did the pro-Maastrichters deny it; by the end of the week European Commission President Jacques Delors was speaking of a "two-track" Europe, with Germany, France, and Benelux at the center, and Britain, Denmark, and the rest consigned to the periphery. Karl Otto Pöhl, former president of the Bundesbank, suggested revising the Maastricht Treaty to allow for immediate monetary and currency union between France, Germany, and Benelux.

When the run on the franc began just after the referendum, it was not because of the ambiguity of this vote. Indeed, the attacks might have been even stronger had the margin been bigger—for what they signified was not a fear of the No, but a fear of the Yes. Yes to union means Yes indeed to

Mr. Kaplan is researching a book on the European Left.

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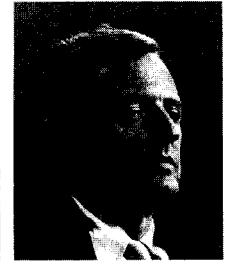
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the Deutsche Mark eating everybody up, while waiting for the ecu. The French were clearly unenthusiastic. But should the Germans have been any happier?

The German central bank, established in 1948, is by law required to protect the Mark. Under the ERM, established in 1979, it is also responsible for maintaining the Mark within the regulated band of currencies. But it is difficult to look at the bank's different levels of intervention without thinking the bankers were acting in deference to Kohl's views. Lowering interest rates is one thing; spending a lot of money to buy francs and incurring the risk of future inflation is another.

But the bankers may have seen their neighbors' currency difficulties as an opportunity to solve one of theirs. Absorbing the eastern Länder had an inflationary impact to which the Bundesbank responded with very high interest rates. This put pressure on the currencies of Germany's neighbors. The Deutsche Mark found itself, as the dollar has been at other times, damned if it did and damned if it didn't. This is why the bank seemed satisfied with the strategy chosen at the end: explode, perhaps permanently, the ERM, keeping the links between the German and French (and Benelux) currencies, and liberating the Mark from what had become onerous responsibility for the others.

The anti-Kohl movement, both in public opinion and in the Bundestag, and indeed in the chancellor's own party, the CDU, suggests that his unambiguous and forceful engagement for the French Yes was about as astute, politically, as was John Major's (or indeed Felipe González's or Giuliano Amato's). If you put it to them calmly, many Germans (in my experience, most Germans born since about 1950) agree there is merit to the idea of a French-German fusion, with or without the disguise of European union. But in the heat of the moment, when the issue is whether they will have to *pay* for this, especially after the shock (not yet over) of the bill for East Germany, they have understandable second thoughts.

The French campaign also showed that the reservations expressed by the Danes in June—and scoffed at by sophisticated opinion—ran much deeper than expected. The Left throughout Europe, while mainly supporting the

Treaty, has tried to channel the public's unhappiness by saying that Europe is suffering from a "democratic deficit." Elisabeth Guigou, France's Minister for European Affairs, followed her president's lead in deploring Brussels centralization ("there is too much bureaucracy and not enough democracy"). The German political class, united in favor of the Treaty, have made the same kinds of verbal gestures. The oddity here is that no one has demonstrated that voters want "more democracy"; what they are complaining about is centralizing regulations, high taxes, and (in France no less than elsewhere) precisely the sort of technocratic, elitist approach to politics that Mme Guigou represents. After all, all these people live in functioning democracies. Is there really a call for yet another layer of democracy, such as the Treaty suggests when it says the European Parliament's powers will be strengthened?

The Maastricht Treaty was pre-

sented by its partisans throughout Europe as an advance toward a broader, more liberal Europe, open to the new democracies of the continent's eastern marches, friendly to the hungry neighbors on the Mediterranean's southern littoral, a fair and forceful competitor to the Atlantic and Pacific partners. No doubt there are elements in the Treaty, as in the European movement, that stand for this vision. The disorders of the past few weeks, however, were revealing, and most revealing of all was the German willingness to close ranks with the French. Whether the consumers—most people—in either country will be the long-term beneficiaries of overvalued currencies is uncertain, but the significance of the deed is clear enough: in the end it is the idea of a union on the Rhine which is the strongest political current in Western Europe—just. For forty years this idea was pushed forward on France's terms. Now it will be on Germany's. □

Manning the Lifeboats

GROVER NORQUIST

WASHINGTON, D.C.
‘CAN President Bush still be re-elected in November?’
“Is it too late to turn things around?”

“Do the Republicans have some ‘silver bullet’?”

“When will Bill Clinton be tagged with the liberal label so that it sticks?”

Recent calls to the White House and the Bush campaign from well-wishers and the morbidly curious are sounding like the plaintive cry of “Has the Governor called yet?” heard on America's death rows.

Young campaign aides who have never seen a Democrat come close to winning a presidential election are busy painting a victory scenario. These protégés of Lee Atwater were bequeathed the Republican electoral lock on the South and West, and what Atwater referred to as the “competence or experience gap”—the greater number of Republican campaign strategists and technicians who have, working together, run successful na-

tional national campaigns. After each loss, by contrast, the Democrats have dispersed and exiled their presidential campaign organizations.

Atwater also left the campaign a candidate: George Bush.

President Bush could have run for re-election using Ronald Reagan's 1984 landslide victory as a model: fight hard for lower taxes, spending restraint, and deregulation. Then, in the campaign, remind the electorate that your Democratic opponent was on the wrong side of each of your public fights.

This strategy was rejected in favor of the 1972 Nixon strategy: concede, in a pre-emptive cringe, all domestic policy to the Democrats and take credit for such regulatory morasses as the Americans with Disabilities Act, Dick Darman's massive tax-and-spend binge of 1990, increases in the minimum wage, and the quota bill. The Nixon strategy posited that the Democrats' position on the economy was more popular than the Republicans' position and, thus, the trick was to leave no daylight between the parties, while the President turned his atten-

Mr. Norquist is president of Americans for Tax Reform.

The Real Story of Hillary Clinton



As Bill Clinton tries to broaden his appeal to the center of the electorate, his wife Hillary continues to work actively with the radical left—and if Bill and Hillary keep their promise of a “two for one special,” she could make the White House a haven for left-wing activists.

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- What did Hillary mean when she wrote in the Harvard Educational Review that the American Family was like “slavery and the Indian reservation system”?
- How did she break the law while heading Jimmy Carter’s Legal Service Corporation?

That’s not all. Hillary has committed other hypocrisies—from investing in South Africa to keeping her last name while claiming to have taken her husband’s.

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tion to important matters in the foreign-policy arena.

Richard Nixon was luckier than George Bush. The tremendous damage his concessions did to the American economy was unnoticed until after the 1972 election—though not for very long after.

For two years the thinking parts of the Beltway GOP—Jim Pinkerton in the White House and Newt Gingrich's House activists—have been arguing for the 1948 Truman campaign as the model for 1992. Memos were written and many pages of David McCullough's new Truman biography were dog-eared and underlined. Bush, the plan went, was "to run against Congress." The check bouncing and House Post Office scandals made this a promising strategy, but President Bush would not cooperate. His periodic attacks on Congress would be followed by lapses into camaraderie, compromises in order to "govern," and assertions that the Democratic leaders who were kicking him in the head every day on Capitol Hill were really his "friends" (the Stockholm Syndrome).

A leading conservative Republican strategist offered in Bush's defense that "with only 166 Republicans in the House, down from 192 in 1981, one could not pass Gramm-Rudman or Gramm-Latta today." Precisely. With compromise victories out of the question only confrontation makes sense. But no confrontation happened.

Today, with barely a month before the November 3 election, some in the campaign are flailing around looking for a silver bullet: one final, crushing bimbo, photographs of Clinton's participation in anti-American rallies in Britain. But veterans of the 1988 election remind us that Dukakis died the death of a thousand cuts—furloughs, taxes, vetoing the pledge of allegiance, gun control, the tank ride—not a single knock-out blow.

The most promising development for Bush has been the recent British invasion: three waves of key campaign advisors to Prime Minister John Major have swept through Washington, briefing and exhorting Republican campaign officials and White House staffers. Their message offers both hope and a serious strategy.

Hope—which the Bush forces need as a prerequisite to action—comes from the simple fact that John Major won re-election on April 9, 1992, at a

time when the British economy was much weaker than the American economy is today. Moreover, the Tories won in the face of polling data that showed British voters were responding positively to the Labour message. Even exit polls on election day indicated a win for Labour.

Major also won re-election following a 12-year stretch of Tory government. He proved that the political "seven-year itch" need not be fatal.

The message of John Lacy and Mark Fullbrook, the key strategists of Major's come-from-behind victory, was to concede the obvious—the economy is not strong—and to stress that things can always get worse. Bush, like Major, may be linked to a stagnant economy, but the tax-and-spend



Fred Carlson

Democrats, like the Labour ideologues, would drive the economy down to Jimmy Carter levels of double-digit inflation and interest rates of over 20 per cent.

"Go negative," urged Lacy and Fullbrook. "Don't be subtle." Their own campaign had screamed out a warning against the "Labour tax bomb," and the message they presented to the British voter—"You cannot trust Labour; you cannot afford Labour"—is already finding its way into the speeches of George Bush and his surrogates. You cannot trust Bill Clinton. You cannot afford the Democrats. It just might work.

While the Major strategy is more feasible to follow in the next month than the Truman strategy, there are weaknesses in the analogy.

First, the Tories had not surrendered the high ground on the tax

issue. As a result, they had not sacrificed their credibility. John Major could make a promise or statement and have a chance of turning voters. George Bush cannot. "Nothing we say now," a Bush aide explains, "matters. After breaking the tax pledge, the voters won't even hear a promise."

Second, in Britain, the 1980s are correctly remembered as a time of growth and restructuring away from the malaise of the 1970s. The Bush Administration foolishly allowed the media to discredit Reaganomics, forgetting they might need to rely on the Reagan legacy some day (i.e., now).

And, lastly, the Tories were helped tremendously by the startling anti-Labour onslaughts of the pro-Conservative tabloid press, which lacks a counterpart in America (Rush Limbaugh, perhaps?) Indeed, the American media are firmly in Bill Clinton's camp.

Differences granted, the Major campaign offers an honest message and strategy for Bush. But Bush aides are understandably reluctant to focus on another way in which this campaign resembles previous British elections: for the first time since the war, the party structure and the greater Republican coalition is more important than the candidate. Ronald Reagan helped create the pro-life, anti-tax, pro-defense, small-business coalition, and his candidacy strengthened that coalition. George Bush is a burden that the coalition has to carry.

But even if the candidate lacks a political backbone, the campaign is surrounded with an exoskeleton—the greater strength of the Republican Party and an unprecedented get-out-the-vote effort by pro-lifers and evangelicals. Small-business and taxpayer groups as well are taking this election more seriously than the candidate. Watch for Taxpayers Action Day, the annual Earth Day for the taxpayer movement, on October 17 to turn a spotlight on the Clinton tax hikes. Small Business Action Day, on the 27th, will highlight Clinton's regulatory agenda.

In politics, as in war, the rules change with each go-round. Senator Joe Biden got in trouble in 1988 for borrowing too heavily from Neil Kinnock and the Labour Party. George Bush just might save his Presidency if he learns and applies the lessons of John Major. □

Here's something *new*:

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William F. Buckley Jr. has described the *Human Life Review* as "powerful stuff" and "the locus of civilized philosophical, legal and polemical discussion of the abortion issue"—as usual, Mr. Buckley is right. The *Human Life Review* is unique. It is the *only* journal in America (indeed, in the whole world) that gives you in *depth* coverage of the greatest *moral* issues of our time—abortion, and the many other horrors (euthanasia, infanticide *et al.*) that it has spawned. You get it all in a handsomely-printed, big (the current issue runs 132 pages) quarterly—and *no* distractions: the *Review* is not a "commercial" publication; it has no ads, just fine articles and commentary.

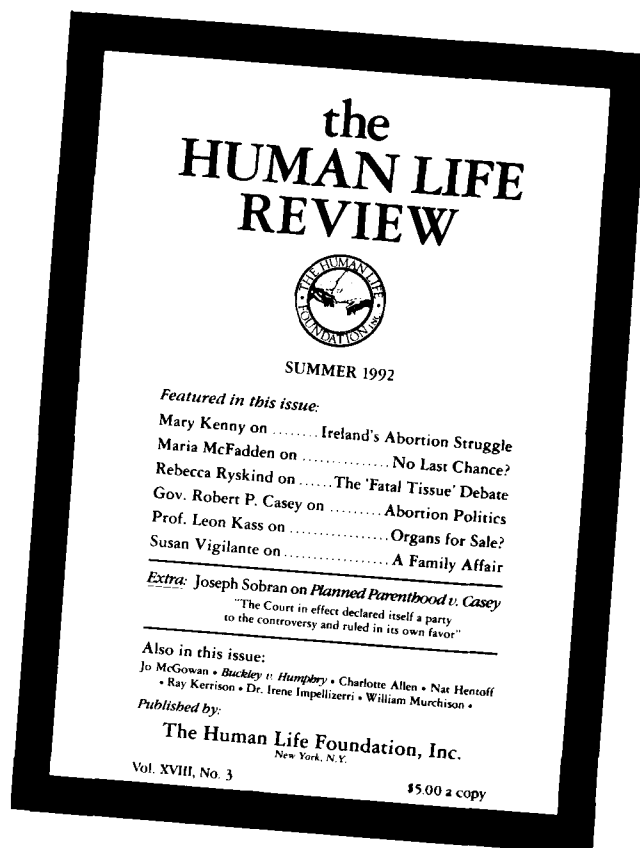
A word of warning: despite the serious subject matter, the *Review* is *not* a bore or a chore: it brings you many first-rate contributors (rather than dull "experts") who know how to *write*—how to make vital moral issues *interesting*—it can make your *own* arguments more interesting too! And precisely because it handles "powerful stuff" the *Review* takes care to provide you with sharp wit and humor, including some of the funniest little cartoons available (amazingly, most *fit* the text!). The editors believe that you can't be *really* serious without a sense of humor, so it's not all "heavy going" here.

For instance, it's hard to imagine anything funny about the Supreme Court's decision in *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*, but Joseph Sobran (a long-time Contributing Editor to the *Review*) will make you laugh at just how bad—and contradictory—the decision is. And you'll enjoy his sharp analysis of the reasons *why*: "The Court in effect declared itself a party to the controversy and ruled in its own favor!"

You will find a great deal more in this special issue as well. The lead article provides what U.S. papers *didn't* tell you about the growing abortion battle in Ireland. Mary Kenny, the well-known "English" journalist and author, was born in Dublin; she *knows* her homeland, and writes with passion about what "modern secularism" is doing to the "Catholic values" that have kept Ireland "abortion free" for so long. Other articles—there are 16 in all (plus an interesting 5-page introduction by Editor J. P. McFadden)—describe the strange success of Derek Humphry's "How to" suicide manuals, the facts behind the "fetal tissue" controversy, and a shocking piece by Prof. Leon Kass on the already-existing "market" for human organs.

Also in this issue: the full text of the now-famous anti-abortion speech by Pennsylvania Gov. Robert P. Casey (you'll find out what "Fighting Bob" was *not* permitted to tell the Democrats' convention in New York), the moving personal story of an "infertile" young wife, Columnist William Murchison on "Single Mothers by Choice"—even the transcript of Bill Buckley's *Firing Line* show with Derek Humphry.

Every issue of the *Human Life Review* brings you an unusual mix of fresh, original articles, not only by regular contributors like Joseph Sobran, Faith Abbott and Maria McFadden, but also from new young writers who have something to *say* about abortion and the other "life issues" it covers. The *Review* also reprints excerpts from important new books, plus articles you may have missed in other publications both here and abroad—in the previous (Spring) issue we re-ran a piece by the late great Malcolm Muggeridge (who was for many years our Editor-at-Large). Called "Medical Progress and the Soul," it first ran back in 1985, but is more timely today than ever—the prophetic "St. Mugg" foresaw the rush to provide "spare" human body parts! (He also slips in a marvellous description of his good friend Mother Teresa of Calcutta in action—you'll love it.)



Come to think of it, just *one* issue of the *Human Life Review* isn't *enough* to give you the *feel* of it all, so here's what we'll do: use the handy coupon below *right now* and we'll send you the current Summer issue *and* the Spring issue too—both free and postpaid. Then of course you'll get another full year (4 big issues), all for no more than the one-year rate of a mere \$20 (so you get a \$30 value in all). We trust that's an offer you can't refuse—but please act *now*! The next (Fall) issue will be coming soon, featuring a devastating piece by James Hitchcock (the well-known Roman Catholic author/historian) titled "Dr. Kildare within the Beltway"—the story of how former Surgeon General C. Everett Koop went to Washington and "grew" from ardent anti-abortionist into Sen. Ted Kennedy's favorite member of the Reagan Administration—don't miss it, reply *now*.

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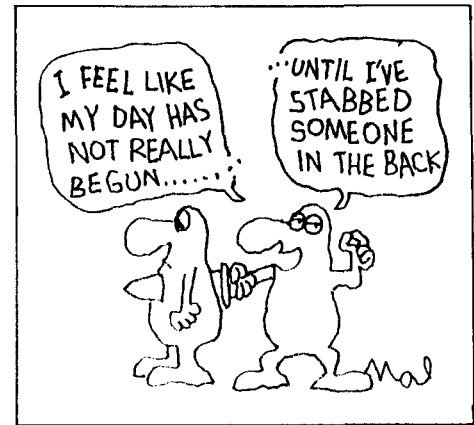
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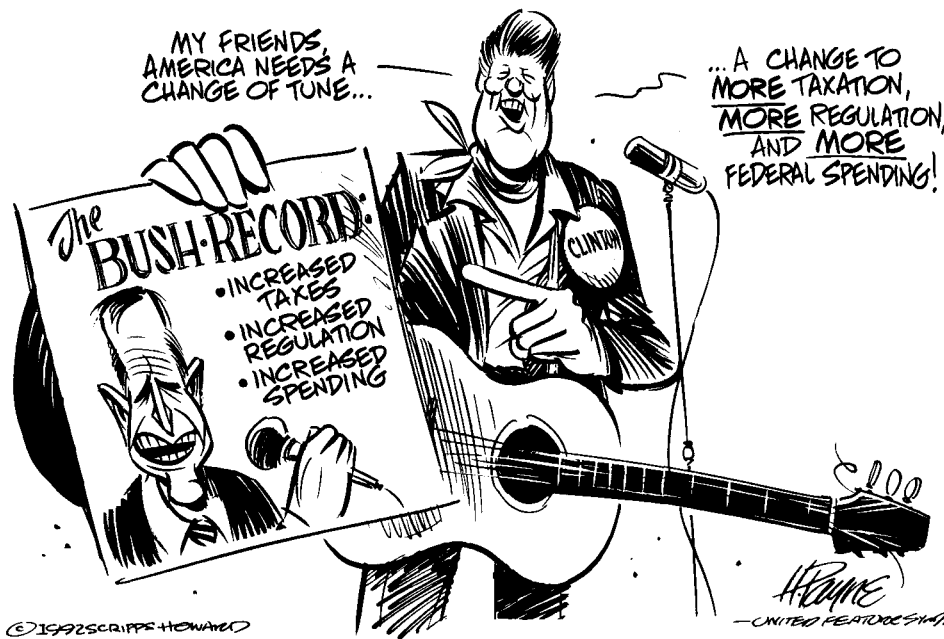
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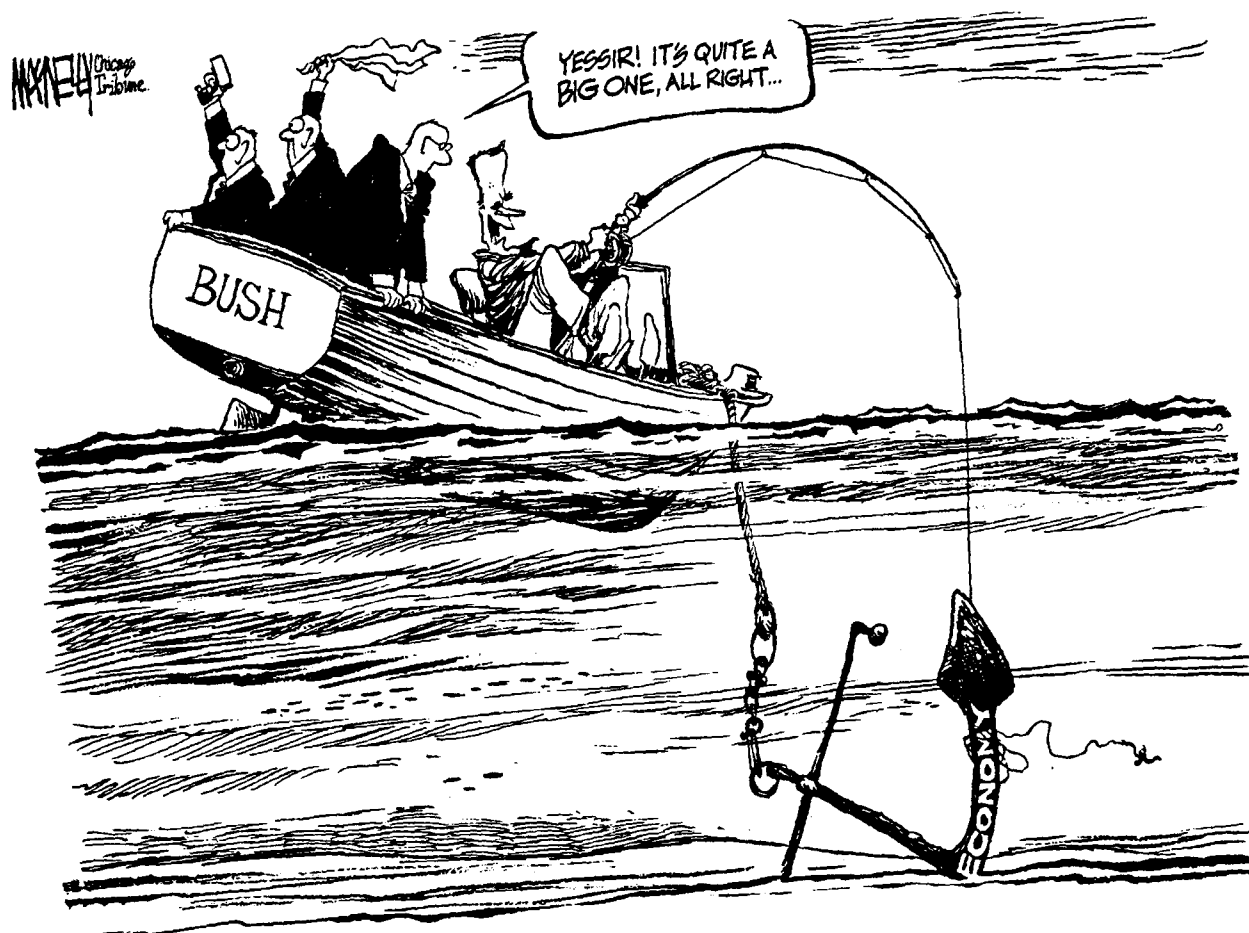
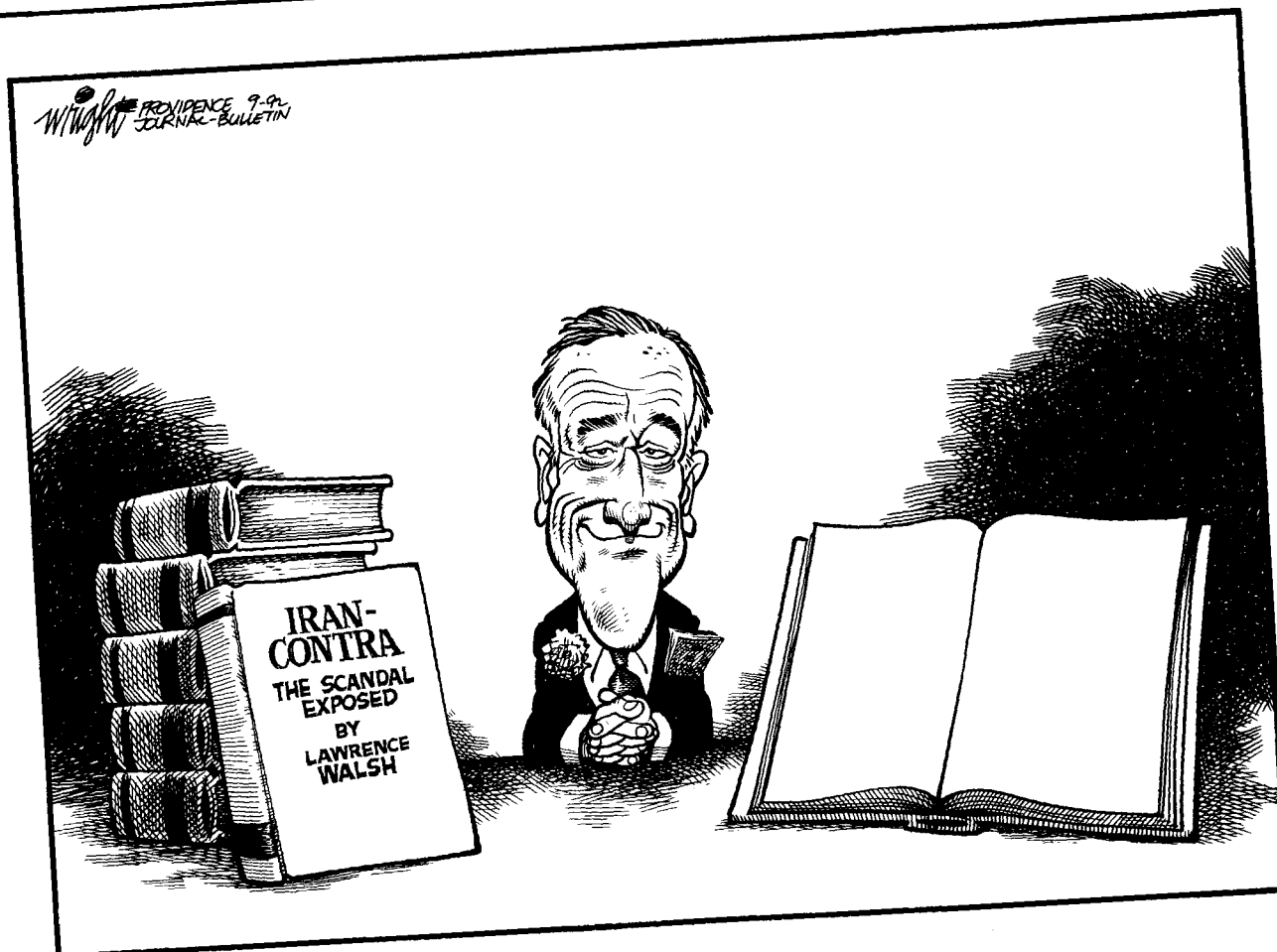
Barry as Delphic Oracle

He wasn't consulted, nor does he
Foresee with precision, but was he
Correct on abortion
Or out of proportion
Like any old coot who gets fuzzy?

W. H. VON DREELE



"It's a note to my mother telling her I got the job."





What Makes Willie Run?

THE ESSENCE OF CLINTONISM

Bill Clinton is characterized as much by his reticences as by his statements of policy—not least on the question of which branch of government would dominate in a Clinton Administration.

HADLEY ARKES

BILL CLINTON has taken, as the center of his political art, the sculpting of himself, with every accent and shading deliberately placed. Part of the artifice is to suggest a character rooted in the landscape of the rural South, but evidently connected to a world beyond Arkansas. And so, when the Vice President linked him with the “cultural elite,” Bill Clinton could summon the incredulity of a country boy:

That’s a bad thing to be, you know [i.e., a member of a cultural elite]. Mario Cuomo, the son of an immigrant grocer, graduated first in his class at law school and didn’t get a Wall Street offer because he was an immigrant blue-collar kid, give me a break.

Let me tell you, I read a book or two in my life, and maybe that qualifies me to be in a cultural elite, but when Dan Quayle and I were kids . . . he was the son of a publishing man, and I once lived in a house without indoor plumbing. Who is he to call me part of an elite? Anybody who has ever had to go to the john outside with a temperature in the teens is automatically not in the cultural elite.

The question was engaged in a lusty way, turned into a parable—and very stylishly left unaddressed. An artful performer makes his audience do some of the work, and in this case Clinton’s listeners are induced to assume that there is, behind the badinage, a sensibility shaped at Georgetown or Oxford.

But in truth, Georgetown and Oxford seem to have left no lasting imprint on the furnishings of his mind. At the time Clinton attended Georgetown, that Catholic university was still different from other colleges in the Northeast in the kinds of moral concerns that pervaded

the place and made their impression even on the dimmest undergraduate. Yet they evidently did not shape Bill Clinton’s understanding in the slightest degree.

The telling reflection here was offered, inadvertently, during Clinton’s acceptance speech at the Convention. He was speaking of the political leaders and teachers who had inspired him, and he intended a deep compliment to his late professor, Carroll Quigley, by putting that venerable teacher of history on the same plane as John Kennedy. From Professor Quigley’s tutelage, Clinton had extracted this grand lesson: “Carroll Quigley . . . said America was the greatest country in the history of the world because our people have always believed in two great ideas: first, that tomorrow can be better than today, and second, that each of us has a personal, moral responsibility to make it so.”

How many professors have suffered acute embarrassment when a former student credits his teacher with a revelation that opened his mind—and then attributes to his professor a proposition of staggering banality? The late Carroll Quigley had deployed his considerable wit to explain, among other things, the intricacies of the Reformation and the strategic interests engaged in the First World War. But the intricacies and the abiding questions had flown past. What registered with the young Bill Clinton was a line offered in passing, a line he could use one day on the hustings.

To this day, Clinton will draw what he can use, with an ear sharply attuned to his setting, and it is that disposition, joined to his animating art, that makes his performance at once so impressive and so elusive. Impressive in that he manages to combine an assortment of issues and moods in a manner that no other politician has quite matched. He has absorbed the theme of “reinventing” government, scaling it down, and he has

Mr. Arkes is the Edward Ney Professor of Jurisprudence and American Institutions at Amherst College. His most recent book is Beyond the Constitution.

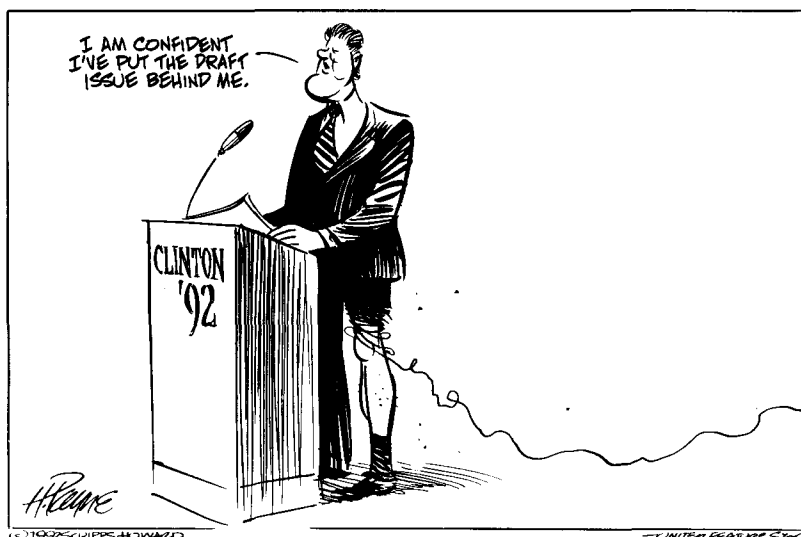
denounced his own congressional party—the “Beltway Democrats who want to spend more of your tax money on programs that don’t embody your values.” In fact, he has been more emphatic than George Bush: “as President,” he said last November, “I’ll throw out last year’s budget deal,” and repudiate the work of the Democratic Congress. He has supported a requirement of work in the public service as a return for welfare—though for Clinton this obligation to work seems to beget an obligation on the part of the state to enlarge the public payroll. At the same time, Clinton has sounded the theme of class war: he has denounced the ratio of compensation between executives and workers in American corporations, and he has offered emphatic signs that he would use the law to redress these disparities.

He has, in short, no bent toward faint themes or pale colors, and yet, as I say, the performance is also elusive. Clinton insists up and down that he does not wish to enlarge the government, that it is private business that creates jobs. But if his “plans” are to be taken seriously, he has in mind the deepest intrusions into the management of private business, and one of the most ambitious schemes for the political direction of the economy. In fact, Clinton’s program seems to be a throwback to the worst parts of the New Deal, to those schemes of “corporatism” and political controls that even Roosevelt had no stomach for bringing back after the Supreme Court had struck them down. The government would not claim the power to legislate directly on the internal management of corporations. But through the manipulation of the tax code, Clinton would try to determine the level of compensation for executives, the decisions on locating plants and laying off workers, and even the judgments on what a company would produce. His avowals in favor of a “free market” are attended by avowals, even more impassioned, on the defects of the market, which require the correcting hand of the law.

Clinton does not, of course, cast his economic plan as a scheme of explicit legal controls on salaries or on the movement of capital. He speaks, instead, in the innocent style of withholding “incentives”: “we’ll give [businesses] more incentives to invest in our jobs and our businesses and our cities and our towns, but no more incentives to shut our plants down and move them overseas.” Translation: Clinton would remove that provision, grounded in equity, that we may be taxed for our income but may deduct our losses from our liabilities. We would lose that claim of equity if we should ever try to cope with our losses by moving a plant overseas. To refrain from taxing people on their losses is something Clinton regards as an act of generosity on the part of the government. Hence, the removal of the “incentive” would not be seen as an injustice, but as the mere withdrawal of a favor. Through reasoning of this kind a decade ago, the proposal of the Reagan Administration to let people keep more of their own money was described

commonly as a “tax subsidy”—as though the money belonged, in the first instance, to the State. As Paul Craig Roberts has already pointed out, rather than protecting jobs, Clinton’s scheme would cast up the most calculable discouragement from investing in the United States.

At the deepest level, Clinton does not respect the market of a free economy, because he does not understand what it does well, beyond the wit of the cleverest managers. Clinton knows, without a flicker of doubt, just which industries are bound to fuel the growth of the economy and provide the largest return for the nation. He knows, then, the industries that deserve “incentives”—which is to say, discriminatory taxation in their favor. They are the “high-tech” industries: “new



fiber-optics networks,” “high-speed rail,” “new generations of computer . . . and biotechnology.” It is curious that Clinton reduces technology, or the knowledge of technics, to equipment. What he leaves out are novel principles of organization, or the more ingenious application of some older, more enduring principles. In that respect, one of the most dynamic parts of the American economy is the system of retailing, with its relative ease of entry and competition. Sam Walton’s Wal-Mart has shown the most stunning returns on its stock, while computer companies have suffered the ravages of the market. If Clinton knows, with such unbreakable certitude, the industries that are sure to bring vast returns and propel the growth of others, he should be doing something far more important than running for President: he should run for Chief Broker and manage all of our portfolios.

Three Men and a Dog

BUT ALL of this is done with a rakish wink: He knows, and we know, that these policies will not produce the wondrous effects he describes. When they prove unworkable, he will simply contrive something to take their place. And instead of being condemned for offering a feckless plan, he will be credited for his moderation in discarding it.

This elusiveness comes close to the center of Clinton's character. One of the keys, then, to Clinton, may be found in a line from George Tyrrell, that lapsed Jesuit at odds with his Church: that if the Jesuits were accused of killing three men and a dog, they would invariably produce the dog alive. The charge is leveled at Clinton that his program will raise taxes, the kinds of taxes that will make it far harder for a small business to hire that additional worker. To this charge, Clinton replies that George Bush put through the largest tax increase in history. That may well be true. But it does not meet the point. Will Clinton bring medical care in the form of a centralized program, administered by the Federal Government? No, the campaign insists, there will be no "nationalized health plan," with all of the rigidities of public administration. But the same campaign contends, a few days later, that the Clinton plan will produce grand economies of scale, by replacing the variety of programs, local and private, with—guess what?—uniform procedures and a single administration. Did Clinton use drugs as a student? Answer: he did not violate the laws of his country. (He waited until he was in England.)

In short, he will always produce the dog alive. Hence the string of accounts about his avoidance of the draft. The line offered by the Republican campaign is that the evasion of the truth is more important than the evasion of the draft. But even that line distracts us from a deeply serious question: After all the stories and statements, we still have not learned the grounds of Clinton's opposition to the war in Vietnam. That would be a key to his understanding about the grounds on which

a President would be justified in deploying military force, in taking and risking life. If he truly thought that American soldiers had been engaged in an immoral venture, killing without justification, how could he have told a meeting of American veterans recently that he "respected" their service in the war? And yet Clinton cannot bring himself to say, even now, that it was morally worthy to resist a Communist regime in Vietnam.

Might he have thought, perhaps, that we had no strategic interests at stake? But in comparison, what strategic interests have been threatened in Bosnia? We are not faced there with an expansive Communist regime, fed by larger powers, and threatening to extend its influence. And yet, there, Clinton *has* been willing to order up a bout of bombing.

The media have convinced themselves that they have expended altogether too much attention already on the "moral" dimensions of Clinton. But they have shown a striking want of curiosity about the moral components that are even more important than his relations with women, namely his moral reasoning: What are the grounds on which he thinks he would be justified in ordering lethal force? Or, what are the grounds on which he has altered his position on abortion? Any late-breaking facts of embryology about the child in the womb?

The media cannot summon the focus of mind to ask such questions and yet these omissions seems slight when set against their failure to notice a momentous change in our politics: one major party has become, in effect, a party of the courts, in the sense that it cannot proclaim its own agenda in public. It must depend

A Devil's Dictionary for Democrats

affordable (adj.)—Of or regarding debts due after the elections eight years hence.

America (n.)—How Dan Quayle spells "Amerika."

change (n.)—What remains after taxes.

Church (n.)—The surname of a deceased senator.

condom (n.)—A balloon-like sheath, composed of latex or natural materials, used in teaching safety to third-graders.

court (n.)—The highest form of legislature.

democracy (n.)—The theory that people should play a direct role in their government, preferably by paying taxes.

economy (n.)—A class of jet service.

fairness (n.)—Taxing some people

more than others; more generally, treating people differently (e.g., on grounds of race or sex).

family (n.)—A social unit involving a mother, a father, and children; a father, a father, and children; a mother, a mother, and children; a father and children; a mother and children; children and children; a social worker and children; a lawyer and a child; the Children's Defense Fund, lawyers, and a child; or any group of people who appear together on *Donahue*.

free (adj.)—Subsidized.

God (n.)—1) The word that follows "me" in the presidential oath of office. 2) The first syllable of a well-known chocolate.

growth (n.)—An obstacle to "fairness"; see also "investment."

investment (n.)—New government spending for old government programs.

moderate (n.)—1) One who subscribes to the teachings of McGovern and describes them as aphorisms by Adam Smith. 2) What Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin became.

national (adj.)—Run exclusively out of Washington.

recycling (n.)—The process by which government contracts turn into campaign contributions.

responsibility (n.)—The obligation on citizens to supply money for national investment.

Reagan (n.)—The Great Satan.

reform (n.)—Antonym for corruption; also synonym.

rich (n.)—See "working."

Sixties (n.)—The present.

values (n.)—Fake furs at low prices.

welfare reform (n.)—A marketing term for welfare.

working (adj.)—Undertaxed.

—TONY SNOW

Mr. Snow is deputy assistant to the President for media affairs.

rather on the courts to enact the measures it would never offer to the people in an election. In this respect, Clinton does represent what is truly new about the Democratic Party; indeed, it is consistent with this masking that the character of the party is expressed far more clearly by the member of the family who is not in office.

Much has already been made of Hillary Rodham Clinton's inventive schemes to license lawyers to launch lawsuits against people in the name of their own children. But the motive for this inventiveness has gone unremarked. It is inventive, for example, to claim that children have standing to sue industries because they are affected by pollution. It is inventive because it is so tenuous and unnecessary. The fact that we may all be affected by pollution is quite enough to raise the issue in the arena of legislation. This spasm of inventiveness becomes necessary only if one has a powerful interest in removing issues of this kind from legislatures to courts. In the courts, the question can be narrowed and settled by jurists, by people who have gone to the same schools as Hillary Rodham Clinton, and who do not need to run for re-election.

Bill Clinton would never incorporate, in his platform, a call to license the marriage of homosexual couples. And yet, Clinton is highly likely to draw his appointments to the courts from a class of lawyers who are likely to think that the refusal to issue a marriage license to a couple of the same sex constitutes a discrimination based on gender, and therefore a violation of the "equal protection of the laws" in the Fourteenth Amendment. The guiding hand of the Administration would not be necessary. All that would be required is a private group to bring a case, and a friendly federal judge. And with a change of only one or two votes, that position could be sustained in the Supreme Court.

On the matter of gay rights, Clinton has actually taken a position more qualified than the media have cared to explain. He has promised to support a federal bill to bar discrimination against gays in a variety of

settings, but the bill would also "respect . . . freedom of religion by exempting religious organizations." And yet, we are likely to see a move, advanced by private litigants, to remove tax exemptions from any church or religious school that holds to a Biblical teaching on homosexuality. Clinton's allies could launch this action in the courts, even while his Administration held back from enforcing any laws on religious schools.

The Very Model of a Modern Democrat

WHEN WE put all of these ingredients together, we may see more readily just how this new kind of Democrat can expand the reach of the Federal Government while claiming to "downsize" it. Instead of legislating directly, the new Administration would manipulate the tax code to shape the behavior of private business. Instead of imposing its social policies on religious groups and private colleges, it could rely on private litigation. Instead of taxing people to pay for new programs in health care and retraining, it will simply mandate some of these programs as an obligation of private businesses. This was the kind of arrangement that was seen in the past as unconstitutional, as a taking of property without compensation. But in our own day, it marks the character of a clever, new, and, above all, "moderate" Democrat.

In the maturing years of a Clinton Administration we should not be surprised to see Clinton's alma mater, Georgetown University, faced with lawsuits and the possible withholding of federal funds. The university might be pressed in that way to cover abortions for its students in its medical plan and permit abortions to be performed in its hospital. And all of this while a son of Georgetown presides, affably, over a national Administration, with a disarming Southern accent. What?! Do you really think that could be done by a boy who loved Georgetown, a kid who "had to go to the john outside with a temperature in the teens . . ." give me a break. □

CLINTON'S RECORD

JOHN HOOD

IN 1986, Governor Michael Dukakis received a vote of confidence from his fellow chief executives. In a *Newsweek* poll, they picked him as the most effective governor in the country, in the vanguard in economic development and welfare reform.

But the myth of a "Massachusetts Miracle" did not outlast the fall campaign. When Republicans and con-

servative journalists pointed to the real conditions in Massachusetts—slackening growth, serious budget troubles, jobs moving across the border to New Hampshire—the Dukakis bandwagon lost its wheels.

Three years later, *Newsweek* conducted another survey of America's governors. This time, they picked Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton.

Echoing 1988, the national press at first viewed Clinton's Arkansas through rose-colored glasses, leaving unchallenged the governor's claim to be fiscally respon-

Mr. Hood is research director of the John Locke Foundation, a state-policy think tank in Raleigh, North Carolina.

sible, moderate, and a proven advocate for economic growth. Meanwhile, the Bush campaign's attempts to re-enact the 1988 success have, so far, fallen flat. They call Clinton "a failed governor of a small, Southern state." A dispassionate analysis of the Clinton record shows that he is really a mediocre governor of a poor state. Compared to Mario Cuomo, perhaps, Clinton hasn't done a bad job. But he has also demonstrated no special qualifications to lead America.

Unpacking the Statistics

IN AUGUST, the Bush campaign released a list of 128 taxes and fees supposedly passed on Clinton's watch, though some of the items were repetitive and others silly (a bill extending dog-racing season being treated as a tax hike). The Bush campaign also pointed to Arkansas's low national rankings in such areas as environmental protection and workplace safety. Unfortunately, these numbers are as worthless as the tax list. The campaign cited the Green Index, compiled by the left-wing Institute for Southern Studies in Durham, N.C. But the Green Index considers the extent of unionization and the size of state environmental budgets to be just as relevant as pollution statistics in ranking states. Of course, if your state pollutes very little, it will spend comparatively little on cleanup. Similarly, the Bush campaign touted the factoid that Arkansas ranked 50th in workplace safety—but that number comes from the National Safe Workplace Institute, a Chicago-based group which measures such factors as the size of workers' compensation funds and whether a state requires doctors to report illnesses they believe derive from a patient's employment.

Of course, the Bush campaign is not the only one that fudges Arkansas's record. Clinton does it, too. But commentators should be aware that many state comparisons are faulty. And conservatives should be cautious about attributing economic and social trends to governors whose power over people's lives is (and should be) limited—especially in the South, where suspicion of executive power dates back to pre-Civil War times. "It's not clear that any governor can cause a sow's ear to become a silk purse," says Donald Market, who directs the Bureau of Business and Economic Research at the University of Arkansas.

Clinton often battled a legislature that could override his vetoes by a simple majority of *either* house. His appointment powers were also limited. That's not necessarily a defense of Clinton's record; in some ways, it's an indictment—the legislature often nixed Clinton proposals to raise taxes, thus making his record seem less fiscally reckless. But it's fair to say that his ideas rarely survived the policy-making process intact.

An analysis of Clinton's record in Arkansas, therefore, should attribute neither all the state's ills nor all its amenities to his tenure as governor. For example, Arkansas benefits from the fact that one of the nation's fastest-growing retail chains, Wal-Mart, calls the state home. Arkansas also suffers from long-standing pockets

of poverty and ignorance, especially along the Mississippi Delta. Clinton created neither of these conditions.

So what *has* Clinton been doing for a decade?

The Economy. Arkansas isn't the poorest state in the Union, but it's no economic miracle, either. During the Reagan recovery, Arkansas consistently lagged behind not only the nation as a whole but even its Southern peers on several measures of economic health. Arkansas's unemployment rate fell from 10.14 per cent in 1983 (the year Clinton took office again after a two-year hiatus) to 7.33 per cent in 1991, but unemployment in the nation, and specifically the South, fell even faster.

While a favorable national press dubbed Bill Clinton the "rising star" among Southern governors, in reality, seven Southern states outperformed Arkansas in per-capita income growth and average weekly private wages, and six states had higher growth in private employment. Only two Southern states—Arkansas and Mississippi—experienced increases in poverty rates during the 1980s.

The Budget. No one could construe Clinton's Arkansas as a Southern version of Dukakis's Massachusetts, with wildly escalating tax burdens and state spending. But Stephen Moore, director of fiscal-policy studies at the Cato Institute, cautions that Clinton's record as fiscal manager is hardly conservative. In a Cato analysis of state governors published last year, Moore gave Clinton a grade of "D." Here are some of the reasons:

- Real state spending rose roughly \$1,500 for every family of four from 1983 to 1990, a pace well above the national average as a percentage of personal income.
- The state tax burden of Arkansas families grew less rapidly, from 6.41 per cent of personal income in 1983 to 6.76 per cent in 1990. To finance spending increases, therefore, the state doubled total debt to \$743 per person, a huge increase when viewed as a share of personal income (and a crucial fact to remember when Clinton boasts he balanced his state's budget 12 times).
- During Clinton's tenure, the state raised sales taxes, corporate income taxes, and the excise tax on gasoline.

No governor, of course, can raise taxes or authorize spending by himself. But none of the five major tax-increase bills passed in Arkansas during Clinton's tenure—two hikes in the sales tax and three in gasoline taxes—were passed over his objections. Indeed, his first major initiative after regaining office in 1983 was to push for a sales-tax increase to pay for education programs. And he lobbied for other sales-tax increases that the legislature refused.

Clinton pushed for other tax hikes. He tried to raise corporate income taxes in 1983 to accompany his sales-tax increase. In 1988, he tried to amend the constitutional provision requiring a three-fourths vote of both houses of the legislature to raise state income taxes. Both attempts failed. Finally, in 1991, Clinton succeeded in raising corporate income taxes, with proceeds "earmarked" for vocational training.

Clinton shares the belief of many moderates and liberals that so-called "progressive" taxes on personal and

corporate income are a fairer way to finance government than “regressive” sales and excise taxes. However, the Arkansas constitution makes it very difficult to raise income taxes, its framers no doubt recognizing the economic disincentives and invasions of privacy inherent in income taxes. So Clinton tried to make the sales tax less “regressive” by extending it to services, which was actually a good idea (or would be if you cut income taxes in tandem).

Education. Since his election in 1983, Clinton’s pet issue has been education. It’s not hard to understand why. Arkansas’s test scores and dropout rates had consistently put the state near the bottom of the heap.

Clinton struck early, devoting his first-year efforts to dramatically hiking expenditures on schools (partly to satisfy a judicial decree) and teacher salaries. At the same time, he invoked the wrath of the state teachers’ union by proposing and pushing through the legislature one of the nation’s first teacher-competency testing programs. The test didn’t turn out to be very difficult—91 per cent of teachers passed on the first try—but still Clinton’s support for this reform was impressive. He went on Little Rock television to announce that he would hold the entire school-spending measure hostage if the teacher-testing provision wasn’t included. He won the day, and the teachers’ union fumed. Even the national organization got into the act, with NEA President Mary Hatwood Futrell warning that competency testing was really an attempt to weed black teachers out of public schools.

Getting Mrs. Futrell’s goat was a pretty respectable accomplishment, but Clinton had others. For example, he did sign a modest public-school choice measure into law. That’s a better record than most governors have, though not as good as George Bush, who wants to take choice to its logical and efficacious conclusion.

Yet there is no evidence to support Clinton’s claim of being a successful education reformer. Arkansas remains in or near the cellar in most state-by-state measures, such as the percentage of adults who have finished high school (47th), SAT scores (44th), and National Assessment of Educational Progress math scores (31st out of 34 participating states). And Clinton’s remarkable resistance to teachers’ unions in 1983 seems like a century ago now that he panders to the NEA and repeats its simplistic critique of 1980s education policy without batting an eye.

Welfare. “In my Administration, we’re going to put an end to welfare as we have come to know it,” Clinton says. But his record in Arkansas doesn’t demonstrate any ability to reform welfare. While reform programs created by Clinton (and his Republican predecessor, Frank White) have apparently moved tens of thousands of recipients from welfare to work, these numbers don’t reflect how many then *returned* to welfare dependency after a short stint in the working world. Clinton’s work

requirement proved to be a paper tiger: although all welfare mothers with children over age 1 are supposed to register for a job program, only 15 per cent had done so as of early this year. Clinton promised sanctions for



“I got the loot, Charlie, but after service and handling charges, we owe them \$6.25.”

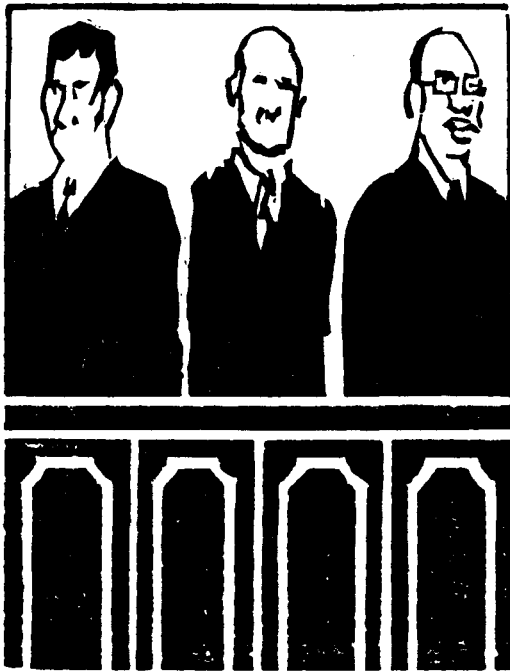
welfare recipients not participating in jobs programs, but less than 1 per cent had their benefits cut for non-compliance during 1991, according to data from the Arkansas Department of Human Services.

Republican governors such as John Engler of Michigan and Tommy Thompson of Wisconsin (and even Democrat Jim Florio of New Jersey) have a better claim to the “tough love” image of welfare reform Clinton touts in campaign ads. While Thompson’s Wisconsin was one of few states to hold the line or even reduce welfare rolls in the late 1980s, the welfare rolls actually increased in Arkansas.

Other Issues. Arkansas remains a poor state with poor schools, high welfare dependency, and a growing public sector. Not surprisingly, therefore, the state has other problems. The need to coddle Arkansas’s poultry-processing industry has made the state government less than vigilant about poultry wastes ending up in the White River. The social-service system hasn’t kept up with a burgeoning child-abuse problem. Unsolved problems persist in the areas of health care, crime, and transportation.

Clinton is certainly at least partially to blame for these problems, and critics charge that once he gets a pet notion enacted, his attention tends to wander. “He’s a much better campaigner than he is a governor,” says Donald Weatherman, professor of political philosophy at Arkansas College. Clinton’s desire to avoid conflict often leads to mid-course corrections and compromises.

Nevertheless, it would not be accurate to say Clinton is a failure as governor. His tenure in Arkansas simply proves that he’s no miracle worker—and that good publicity built the reputation he enjoyed among his peers during the 1980s, not solid accomplishments. On that score, many of his fellow governors beat him hands down. □



Rule of Judges

BESIDE THE LAW

Remember the quaint high-school civics notion that laws are made by legislatures, not judges? The Supreme Court doesn't.

ROBERT H. BORK

THE CURRENT Supreme Court does not have a single dominant theme, such as the Warren Court's radical egalitarianism. However, if the Court's last term is a guide to what we can expect in the future, the prospects are not heartening.

To begin with the bad news, in the area of individual rights the Court, most unexpectedly, has substituted a form of moral philosophy, intellectually thinner than gruel, for the actual principles of the Constitution. It has adopted, almost *in haec verba*, the radical jurisprudence of today's law schools, i.e., that the individual's right to define himself or herself, particularly in sexual matters, is paramount and that the community has almost no legitimate interests in that area.

Some view this as a major setback for traditionalists in the cultural war said to be raging in America. It is at least that. There is, however, an even gloomier view, espoused by Irving Kristol: There is no war in the culture; there was, but it's over, and the other side has won. Conservatives have only the option of guerrilla warfare. The other side has the universities, the news media, Hollywood, television, many of the mainline churches, and most of the foundations and public-interest organizations. Now it appears to have the Supreme Court, too, 5 to 4.

Mr. Bork is a John M. Olin scholar at the American Enterprise Institute.

Once it moves away from cultural issues, however, the Court is not predictably liberal; individual Justices shift alliances, and the decisions are impossible to categorize. In important non-constitutional areas, such as the economics of anti-trust, the Court does not appear to be ideological but does seem markedly less competent than the Court of the previous 15 years.

The Court's radical constitutional approach is displayed in last term's decisions on abortion (*Planned Parenthood v. Casey*) and on school-commencement prayer (*Lee v. Weisman*).

Pennsylvania enacted a statute regulating abortion more than *Roe v. Wade*, when in full vigor, would have allowed. Two Justices, Harry Blackmun and John Paul Stevens, would have struck down all the regulations; four, Chief Justice William Rehnquist and Justices Byron White, Antonin Scalia, and Clarence Thomas, would have upheld them and jettisoned *Roe* once and for all. Fairly solid rumor has it that Justice Anthony Kennedy was prepared to make the fifth vote to overrule *Roe* but was persuaded instead to ally himself with Justices Sandra Day O'Connor and David Souter in a joint opinion upholding four of the regulations but striking down the fifth and reaffirming a diminished version of *Roe*.

Whether the rumor is true or not, that opinion will do no good to any of the three Justices' reputations in his-

tory. It is not just that the opinion is illogical and wholly unconnected to the Constitution, but also that its style is oratorical and grandiose. Each of the three Justices is capable of clear, workmanlike prose; this opinion reads as if its authors were straining for eloquence. Justice Scalia, meaning no kindness, referred to the opinion's "epic tone."

The joint opinion claims to reaffirm the "central holding" of *Roe*, which the three Justices have now redefined to mean that the state must place no "undue burden" on a woman's right to an abortion. Nobody is sure what that means, and, since the standard is wholly subjective, it will take years of litigation, state regulation by state regulation, to find out. By that time there will be new members on the Court who will probably give the phrase yet other meanings.

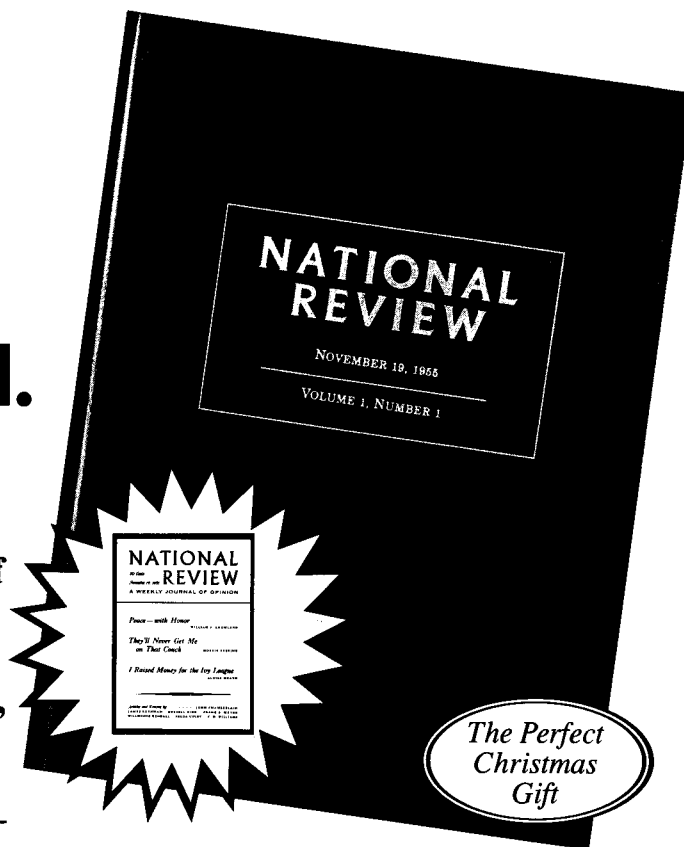
Despite suggesting that one or more of its authors might not have decided *Roe* in the same way as an original matter, the joint opinion says that overruling would be unwise because people have relied on the decision and because, there being fierce political and moral debate on the issue, to overrule would be perceived as responding to political pressure. That, the three Justices say, would damage the Court's integrity.

The same reasons could have been given in *Brown v. Board of Education* for reaffirming the "central holding" of

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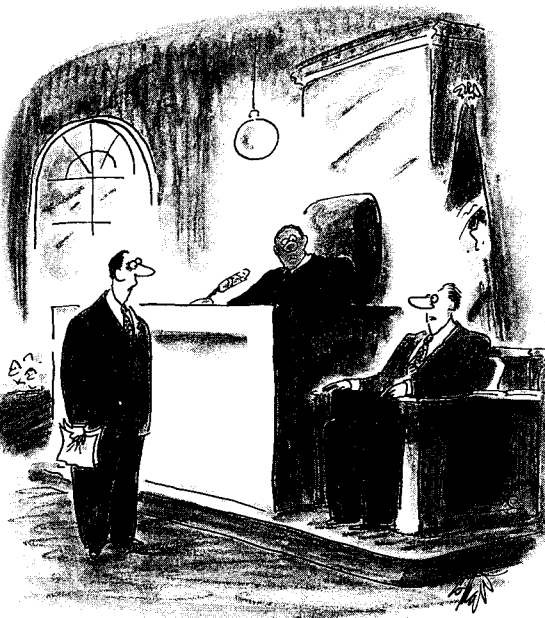
Plessy v. Ferguson and leaving legally mandated racial segregation in force. Adherence to precedent has never been very important in constitutional law precisely because, unlike mistakes in interpreting statutes, which Congress can correct, only the Court can correct its mistakes in reading the Constitution. Moreover, there being fierce support for, as well as opposition to, *Roe*, the argument that the Court must not be perceived as capitulating to pressure is not even a make-weight. The integrity of the Court can only be preserved by making serious efforts to interpret the actual Constitution. *Casey* will just increase the public perception that the Court is a political rather than a legal institution.

But the really sinister aspect of *Casey*, as Professor Russell Hittinger points out, is the shift in the legal rationale for a right to an abortion. In *Roe* the rationale was a "right of privacy," which the Court had invented a few years earlier to reach a result that nothing in the Constitution allowed. The joint opinion in *Casey* now grounds the abortion right in "liberty," a word used in the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments, which state that no person shall be "deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." The original purpose of the clause, of course, was to guarantee just procedures in the application of a law's substance. The clause had nothing to say about what that substance could be.

For that reason, the due-process clause gives no slightest hint of what liberties may not be curbed by legislation. That is important, because once the Court began to use due process as a limit of substance, the Justices necessarily had to legislate free of any meaning given by standards external to themselves. Anything resembling a rule of law, rather than a rule by Justices, became impossible.

Court majorities overrode elected legislatures according to the Justices' own, frequently idiosyncratic, views of what property or liberty must not be taken away. In *Dred Scott* that turned out to mean a right to own slaves; in *Lochner v. New York*, a right to be free of maximum-hours legislation; in *Roe* and *Casey*, the right to an abortion. There is no guidance available from

the Constitution of what "liberty" should mean. In fact, the joint opinion rather triumphantly proclaims that it has no guidance from the text of the Constitution: "It would be tempting, as a means of curbing the discretion of



"I don't see how I could possibly be held accountable—my moral fiber is shot all to hell."

federal judges, to suppose that liberty encompasses no more than those rights already guaranteed to the individual against federal interference by the express provisions of the first eight amendments to the Constitution. . . . But of course this Court has never accepted that view." It is not true that the Court has never turned down a constitutional claim on the ground that there is nothing supporting it in the Constitution. It is true that the Court has often legislated its own views through the warrant supposedly provided by the word "liberty," but why that is justification for continuing to rewrite the Constitution is not explained. No matter how often repeated, an abuse of power remains just that.

As is the tradition when the Court uses the due-process clause to strike down a statute, the joint opinion first reassures the reader that the Justices are not imposing their personal views on the rest of us and then goes on to impose their personal views on the rest of us. "Our obligation is to define the liberty of all, not to mandate our own moral code" is soon followed by

the assertion, nowhere to be found in the document or its history, that "the most intimate and personal choices a person may make in a lifetime, choices central to personal dignity and autonomy, are central to the liberty protected by the Fourteenth Amendment. At the heart of liberty is the right to define one's own concept of existence, of meaning, of the universe, and of the mystery of human life."

This is New Age jurisprudence, and from it a judge can go anywhere. The joint opinion thought the proper next step was: "The mother who carries a child to full term is subject to anxieties, to physical constraints, to pain that only she must bear. . . . The destiny of the woman must be shaped to a large extent on her own conception of her spiritual imperatives and her place in society." A judge addicted to rhetoric of this sort could as easily reach the opposite conclusion: The child who is aborted is subject to pain that only he or she must bear and is forever deprived of the right to define his or her own concept of existence, of the mystery of human life, to form his or her conception of his or her spiritual imperatives and place in society.

Is Sodomy Next?

AS JUSTICE SCALIA pointed out, vaporings about personal autonomy "might be applied, for example, to homosexual sodomy, polygamy, adult incest, and suicide." Hittinger writes that "*Casey* represents a stunning victory for the progressive wing of the Court, who at last have managed to emancipate not only abortion, but sexual conduct in general, from the jurisprudential corsets of marital privacy. . . . [W]e now have abortion justified in the light of an argument geared to defend homosexual liberty." No doubt *Bowers v. Hardwick*, which rejected that argument and denied a constitutional right to engage in homosexual sodomy just a few years ago, is now a prime candidate for overruling. It is difficult to know what other "lifestyle" choices will now be constitutionally protected.

Just five days earlier, in an opinion whose mood and tone led me to predict *Casey*, the same three Reagan-Bush

appointees joined Justices Blackmun and Stevens to outlaw prayer at a public-school commencement. Because the school principal decided to have a prayer, chose a rabbi, and asked him to make the prayer nonsectarian, the majority discerned government interference in religion. Because a girl, who did not need to attend the ceremony to receive her diploma, was not required to stand when the prayer was spoken, and was not even required to maintain respectful silence, might feel "peer pressure" to do one or more of these dread things, the majority saw government coercion. All of this heavy artillery about the threat of government compelling religious orthodoxy was brought to bear to vindicate a provision of the First Amendment that actually says only that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion . . ."

Those who ratified the First Amendment knew what it was to establish a religion. As the history of the practices of the framers and ratifiers demonstrates, they had no intention that public occasions be so thoroughly scrubbed clean of any taint of religion. Many of our current practices are saved only because the historical evidence is indisputable that the establishment clause was not intended to banish them from public life. I sat on a case in which atheists challenged the payment of salaries to the chaplains of the Senate and House of Representatives. The day began inauspiciously for the atheists. They and we stood as the marshal intoned, "God save the United States and this honorable court." That constituted government endorsement of religion and coercion of unbelievers just as much as anything that happened to Deborah Weisman. What began as a constitutional guarantee of freedom of religion has been converted to a statement that religion is a bad and dangerous thing. No doubt the members of the Court majority are not personally hostile to religion, but they have made such hostility the command of our fundamental compact.

Both *Casey* and *Weisman* bespeak a willingness to ignore the actual principles of the Constitution in order to enact a liberal cultural agenda. Both rest on extreme principles of individual autonomy. Both display strong elements of sentimentality as an engine of Constitution-rewriting. Both, con-

trary to the historical Constitution, reject the concerns of the community for a simplistic and unreflective individualism so characteristic of elite opinion in this age.

The Good News

YET *Casey* and *Weisman* are by no means the whole story of the Court in the last term. It would be wrong to think that O'Connor, Kennedy, and Souter have gone over completely to the liberal camp or that they are regularly sentimental rather than rigorous in their analysis. The cases of Robert Alton Harris and Humberto Alvarez Machaín suggest that outside the cultural sphere, these Justices behave like lawyers. Both decisions were correct and both, as the *New York Times's* editorial lamentations demonstrated, ran counter to liberal dogma.

Robert Alton Harris was sentenced to death by the state of California for killing two teenage boys because he wanted their automobile for a bank robbery. The usual attempt by activist lawyers and judges to thwart the carrying out of any death penalty began. After his direct appeal failed, Harris received three hearings on federal *habeas corpus* petitions and five more on state petitions, which kept him alive on death row for 13 years. When his execution was finally authorized for a specified day, a welter of last-minute petitions and federal-court stays of execution were filed and entered. The state had to go twice to the Supreme Court in the middle of the night to get the stays lifted. Finally, seven Justices, including O'Connor, Kennedy, and Souter, ordered that no more stays issue, and Harris was executed. That step, given the predictable international press outcry, required determination that legal processes not be manipulated.

Enrique Camarena Salazar, an American Drug Enforcement Agency operative, working in Mexico with the approval of the Mexican government, was kidnapped by drug traffickers and tortured to death with a red-hot pipe to force him to reveal certain information. The DEA believed that Alvarez, a Mexican physician, prolonged Camarena's life so that the interrogation could continue. At the instance of DEA officials, Alvarez was abducted from his office in Guadalajara, taken to El

Paso, arrested by DEA officers, and indicted, among other things, for the felony murder of a federal agent. Both a district court and a court of appeals held that the kidnapping of Alvarez violated the extradition treaty between the United States and Mexico and ordered him returned. The Supreme Court, however, in an opinion written by Chief Justice Rehnquist and joined by Justices Kennedy and Souter among others, reversed and sent Alvarez back for trial.

It would have been easy for a sentimental or moralistic Court to have found a violation of the treaty or of principles of customary international law in order to hold the DEA's action illegal. But a close analysis of the treaty showed that self-help was not precluded when the other nation would neither extradite nor prosecute; and, whatever customary international law might hold, it could not bind the executive branch in our courts, though it might subject the United States to moral or legal sanctions elsewhere. It was by no means clear that Mexico would not prosecute Alvarez: it had imprisoned for maximum terms others involved in Camarena's death. But the Court could not enter upon that inquiry without committing itself to similar inquiries in future cases, and that would be to insert itself into the conduct of foreign relations. The Court wisely concluded that the resolution of such issues was a matter for executive-branch diplomacy. The decision rested at bottom on a correct appreciation of the constitutional doctrine of the separation of powers, which in recent years the Court has all too frequently blurred.

Not all of the Court's work involves constitutional law, of course. Decisions about economic matters are also important to the national well-being, and in anti-trust the news of last term was not good. After a long run of anti-competitive anti-trust decisions, the Court began to right itself in 1977 with Justice Powell's opinion in *Continental TV v. GTE Sylvania*. Overruling a line of mistaken decisions, the Court held that a manufacturer's restrictions on the territories in which its dealers might sell were no longer illegal per se because such restrictions were capable of creating important efficiencies in distribution. A few years later Justice Powell held in *Zenith Radio v. Matsushita Electric Industries* that preda-

tory price cutting as a means to monopolize was so improbable on economic grounds that a plaintiff could not get to a jury trial without evidence better than would be necessary in an ordinary case. These were opinions that displayed an economic sophistication foreign to the Court of previous decades.

But Justice Powell has retired and so have some of the members of his majorities. Much of the Court's understanding of economics seems to have

departed with them. This past term, *Eastman Kodak v. Image Technical Services* began what may become a retreat from economic rigor. Independent service organizations (ISOs) alleged that Kodak had tied the sale of service for its machines to the sale of parts, and had monopolized and attempted to monopolize the sale of service and parts, in violation of the Sherman Act. Kodak had no power in the market for the machines themselves. The Court majority sent the case back

for trial on these allegations although it is impossible to comprehend how a company with no market power in the machines could exercise monopoly power over parts and services.

To charge monopoly prices for parts and services is to raise the total price for the machines, which, on the assumption that it had no power in the machine market, Kodak could not do without diminishing its returns. The Court's response was consumer ignorance: purchasers who could judge new-machinery prices and quality, and so could not be charged monopoly prices on the initial purchase, could not necessarily estimate life-cycle costs and so could be charged monopoly prices for parts and services. That response does not wash. Purchasers of the equipment can easily learn how satisfied or dissatisfied current owners are with the prices for parts and services. Consumers considerably less sophisticated than Kodak's customers acquire such information routinely.

The *Kodak* decision displays a style of anti-trust argumentation that we had reason to hope the Court had left behind and which, unfortunately, can be employed across the entire body of anti-trust law. It is the ancient error of "that's all right in theory but it does not work in practice," the error for which, it is said, James Mill sent his son John Stuart Mill to bed without his supper. It is always possible to question even the simplest economic axioms by imagining that consumers as a group fail to understand their own interests. The result is to send impossible theories to juries, where populist demagoguery rather than economics is likely to determine the outcome.

One bright spot of the term is the performance of the new Justice, Clarence Thomas. He has proved to be a tough-minded judge who cares about law more than popular results. That, of course, has led to some bad press. One charge is that he simply follows Scalia. That is demonstrably untrue. Scalia and Thomas have voted together about 80 per cent of the time; so have Blackmun and Stevens. When Scalia and I were on the court of appeals, we voted together 98 per cent of the time. Nobody suggests that Stevens simply follows Blackmun or that either Scalia or I was simply following the other.

One of Justice Thomas's most ma-



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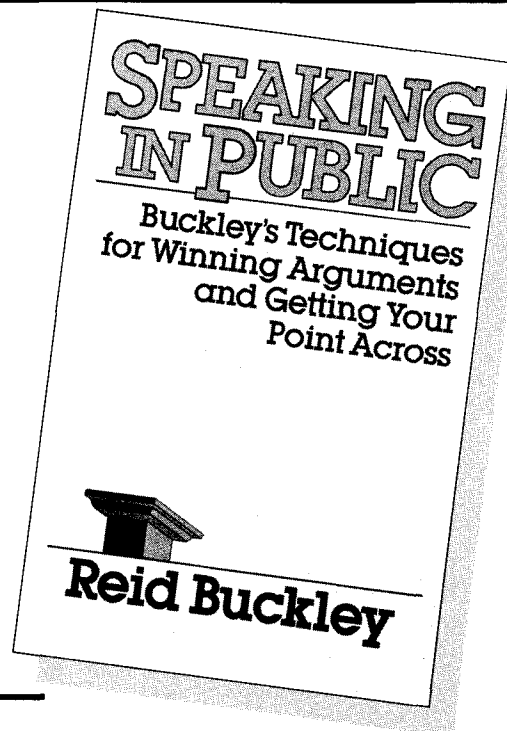
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ligned, but most admirable, dissents came in *Hudson v. McMillian*. An inmate of a Louisiana prison was shackled and punched by guards, suffering loosened teeth and a cracked dental plate. Seven of the Justices found this a violation of the Eighth Amendment's prohibition of "cruel and unusual punishment." Thomas, joined by Scalia, dissented. As he pointed out, the majority decision was a major expansion of the Eighth Amendment. Those who find that position cold-blooded seem to think the Constitution is the only law in this country, so that it must be available to right every wrong. There was no need to deform the concept of "cruel and unusual punishment" in this case because, as Thomas noted, Louisiana's courts are open to prisoners to sue for wrongs done by prison personnel. The process of continually extending the Constitution to do the work that other laws already accomplish trivializes the Constitution.

If Clinton Is Elected

WHAT OF the Court's future? That will depend, as it has always done, on the direction of our national politics. We thought that Reagan and Bush had cured the Court's adventurism, but they succeeded only in producing stronger minorities. If Governor Clinton is elected, it seems obvious that he will nominate, and the Democratic Senate will joyously confirm, a series of liberal to radical Justices. Clinton has already announced one litmus test: his nominees will have to be committed to the survival of *Roe v. Wade*, in the full puissance of its original form, not *Casey's* bobtailed version. We can expect further victories for the Left, including perhaps constitutional protection for homosexual sodomy and for racial and gender quotas.

President Bush's re-election would be better for the Court, but how much better depends on the composition of the Senate. It is clear that no nominee is going to get through a Democratic Senate without swearing fealty to full abortion rights. No longer will the nominee be able to say he or she really hasn't thought much about the topic. The confirmation process will focus not only on abortion but on a laundry list of liberal results. This means that the cultural Left in the Senate, not an independent judiciary, will

control much of the meaning of the Constitution.

Perhaps this control is now inevitable. Almost no one these days makes the slightest distinction between the Supreme Court and a legislature. It has become irrelevant to point out that abortion, for example, is one of the multitude of topics to which the Constitution does not speak; that it is, like most issues, left by the Constitution to the moral reflection and then the votes of the American people.

This obsession with congenial results means that, for the time being,

the rule of law is badly wounded, or worse. Yet the rule of law—the neutral application of principles to be found in the actual Constitution rather than in our personal desires—is necessary to justify a judicial power in overriding democratically enacted legislation.

The anomalous position of the Court will not soon be rectified by new appointments. We must hope that the worst features of the last term were an aberration and will not be repeated. It would take a reappraisal by only one Justice to ensure that. □

Meanwhile, in Congress

CLEANING HOUSE

The House Bank, the Year of the Woman, coattails—even the boldest predictors are hedging their bets.

MICHAEL FREDENBURG

IN THE PAST we have been looking at thirty to forty competitive races. This election we are looking at well over one hundred competitive races," says Spence Abraham, executive director of the National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC). As of September 15, 88 members of the House had retired, lost primaries, run for higher office, or died. Thus, no matter what happens in November to the incumbents still on the ballot, the 1993 freshman class is guaranteed to be the largest since World War II.

Gender politics and abortion have both played a part, but the biggest factors have been redistricting and anti-incumbent sentiment, fueled by the House Bank and Post Office scandals. These have encouraged dozens of incumbents to retire rather than face a hostile electorate.

Redistricting was expected to benefit House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich: though he had never represented any part of the new 6th CD, it was drawn to be Georgia's most Re-

publican district. But before reaching the general election, Gingrich found himself in a dog-fight with former State Assemblyman Herman Clark. Clark, a fifty-year-old attorney, ran a strong campaign on such issues as the House Bank, congressional pay raises, and members' perks. Gingrich, who had 22 overdrafts, outspent Clark nearly 10 to 1 and narrowly defeated him. Gingrich is bruised, but he should still beat his Naderite opponent, Tony Center, in November.

Montana lost one of its two House seats, forcing a matchup between two incumbents, conservative Republican Ron Marlenee and liberal Democrat Pat Williams. The candidates' voting records have followed their respective party lines, and Marlenee is hoping to capitalize on Williams's support for the National Endowment for the Arts, painting him as an out-of-the-mainstream liberal who is willing to use the taxpayers' money to fund pornography. Apart from that, the race will focus on such stock issues as taxes, jobs, and the economy. Because both congressmen have overdrafts, the banking scandal is not expected to play a significant role.

Mr. Fredenburg is a Republican political consultant based in Southern California.

Louisiana will also have a race with two incumbents, in the new 6th CD, but because of the state's unique election laws they don't have to be of different parties. In fact, both are Republicans. Clyde Holloway was the conservative gubernatorial candidate last year whom the RNC refused to back, thereby allowing David Duke to make it into the runoff with Edwin Edwards. He will face Richard H. Baker, who is not much less conservative except on abortion. Support from pro-lifers is expected to give Holloway a slight edge.

Ex-Incumbents

OF THE 53 congressmen who retired rather than face an anti-incumbent electorate, 28 are Democrats and 25 are Republicans. Of the 19 incumbents defeated in primaries, 14 are Democrats, only 5 Republicans. One high-profile GOP casualty, however, was NRCC Chairman Guy Vander Jagt (Mich.). Though Vander Jagt had no overdrafts himself, his support for fellow Michigan Republican Robert Davis (878 overdrafts) angered voters. Vander Jagt was not helped by an ABC *Prime Time Live* exposé featuring him and other members of the Ways and Means Committee frolicking on the beaches of Barbados at taxpayer expense during a trading-relationship trip. The man who unseated him, Peter Hoekstra, is a sound conservative who is said to have a good chance against Democrat John Miltner.

Another prominent Republican to lose was staunch conservative Mickey Edwards (Okla.), chairman of the Republican Policy Committee. Edwards failed to persuade voters that his position as committee chairman would allow him to "lead the change" in Congress. Not incidental to his defeat was his 386 overdrafts and the House Ethics Committee report describing him as one of the 22 worst abusers of the House Bank. Edwards's opponents, U.S. Attorney Bill Price and State Representative Ernest Istook Jr., both labeled Edwards as just another out-of-touch politician, using the banking scandal and the theme that "16 years is long enough." Istook—who is nearly as conservative as Edwards—beat Price in the September 15 run-off and will face a woman, Laurie Williams, in November.

Beryl Anthony Jr. (D., Ark.), a 14-year incumbent and former chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC), lost his June 9 runoff with Arkansas Secretary of State Bill McCuen. McCuen effectively put Anthony on the defensive by pointing out that the \$35,000 congressional pay raise Anthony had voted for was more than the entire income of most families in his district. Anthony was also saddled with 109 overdrafts. The race was very close—50.9 per cent to 49.1—and it may have been the National Rifle Association that administered the coup de grâce against the frequent sponsor of gun-control legislation.

Incumbents losing while massively outspending their opponents was a recurring theme throughout the primary season—for example, in the high-profile race in New York where Democrat Stephen J. Solarz lost in the September 15 primary. Solarz's 743 overdrafts were a factor, but probably less so than redistricting. Solarz's old seat was one of three that New York lost; he gambled on a district which had

been gerrymandered to yield a Hispanic congressman, rather than challenge fellow Jewish liberal incumbent Ted Weiss. Weiss died the day before the primary, and Solarz lost to a Puerto Rican-born woman, Nydia Velazquez.

A September 15 primary also ended the congressional career of Democrat Chester Atkins (Mass.), a member of the House Appropriations Committee. Atkins had run a particularly foul campaign against his conservative opponent, John McGovern, in 1990. The bank scandal played a prominent part in Atkins's demise.

Opinion splits along party lines as to what effect the bank scandal will have in November. According to Marcia Hale, political director for the DCCC, the scandal will not play as large a role in the general election as in the primaries, because "character issues play a bigger role when the candidates are similar on the issues."

Spence Abraham of the NRCC thinks the scandal will give the Republicans a net boost, if only because the Republicans have fewer incum-

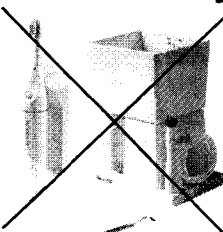
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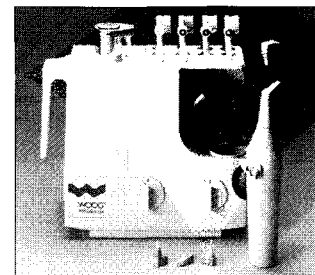
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bents facing check-bouncing charges. Of the 270 current members with overdrafts, 83 are Republicans and 187 are Democrats.

Meanwhile, a number of well-known congressmen are expected to ride out the wave of discontent. Those who owe their safety to weak challengers or districts that are one-party strongholds include incumbents such as far-left radical Ronald Dellums (D., Calif.; 851 overdrafts), Henry A. Waxman (D., Calif.; 434 overdrafts), conservative stalwart Duncan Hunter (R., Calif.; 399 overdrafts), and Agriculture Committee Chairman E. "Kika" de la Garza (D., Tex.; 284 overdrafts).

Year of the Woman?

THE freshman class is likely to have a record number of women. As of September 15, 38 Republican women, including 9 incumbents, had made it to the general election, as had 70 Democratic women, including 18 incumbents. Candy Straight, a founder of the Women's Campaign Fund, was willing to go out on a limb: "I believe we have a chance to get 4 to 5 new Republican women

elected and 15 to 20 new Democratic women elected." This would smash the 1972 record of 7 new women in the House.

Miss Straight's prediction is not preposterous; thanks to her organization and others, especially Emily's List and WISH (Women in the Senate and House), women have for the first time been competitive with men in fund raising. These groups are expected to spend well over \$6 million by the time the general election is over. By the way, gender is not enough for these groups: they fund only those women who support unrestricted access to abortion.

Two interesting races involving women are those of Texas Republican Donna Peterson and California Democrat Anna Eshoo. Both have an excellent chance of winning, but the similarities end there. Donna Peterson is a West Point graduate who is running against 20-year incumbent Charles Wilson in Texas's 2nd CD. Anna Eshoo is running for an open seat vacated by defeated Republican senatorial candidate Tom Campbell in California's 14th. While Miss Eshoo is emphasizing gender as a reason to vote

for her, Miss Peterson is emphasizing her conservative credentials. Miss Eshoo supports abortion rights and idolizes liberal senatorial candidate Barbara Boxer; Miss Peterson is pro-life and idolizes Ronald Reagan. Miss Peterson supports state's rights; Miss Eshoo would like to expand the role of the Federal Government.

Miss Eshoo is the favorite against Republican moderate Tom Heuning. Miss Peterson, though heavily outspent by Charles Wilson, is thought to have momentum on her side; during the last reporting period she raised almost as much money as he did.

Another prominent conservative woman candidate is Linda Bean, businesswoman, conservative activist, and granddaughter of L. L. Bean. In 1988, Miss Bean was narrowly defeated by Republican moderate Edward S. O'Meara Jr., who attacked her as an extremist and an "heiress" trying to buy the election. Her primary opponent this time around, Anthony M. Payne, leader of the dominant moderate wing of the state Republican Party, tried the same strategy. Miss Bean countered by arguing that she would provide a much stronger contrast in the general election against incumbent Tom Andrews, who supports abortion on demand and special rights for homosexuals. Miss Bean ended up taking 6 of the 7 counties that make up Maine's 1st District.

But does all this really make 1992 "The Year of the Woman"? In California, Democratic officials are proud of the fact that 17 women triumphed in the primaries and expect 10 to 12 of them to win. But in New Jersey, 5 of 6 women candidates lost in the primaries; the lone winner was Democrat Ono Spiridellis, who defeated another woman. In Arkansas, minister Brian Day won a narrow victory over financial consultant Sharon Klusman, who ran on an abortion-rights platform. Day resisted the attempt to label him a single-issue pro-life candidate by saying that, yes, he *was* a single-issue candidate: the single issue being that Congress is broken and needs to be fixed.

Thus, if by "The Year of the Woman" one means that hordes of women outraged by the way the all-male Senate Judiciary Committee treated Anita Hill will vote blindly for any woman who comes along, then the answer is a qualified no. Qualified because in



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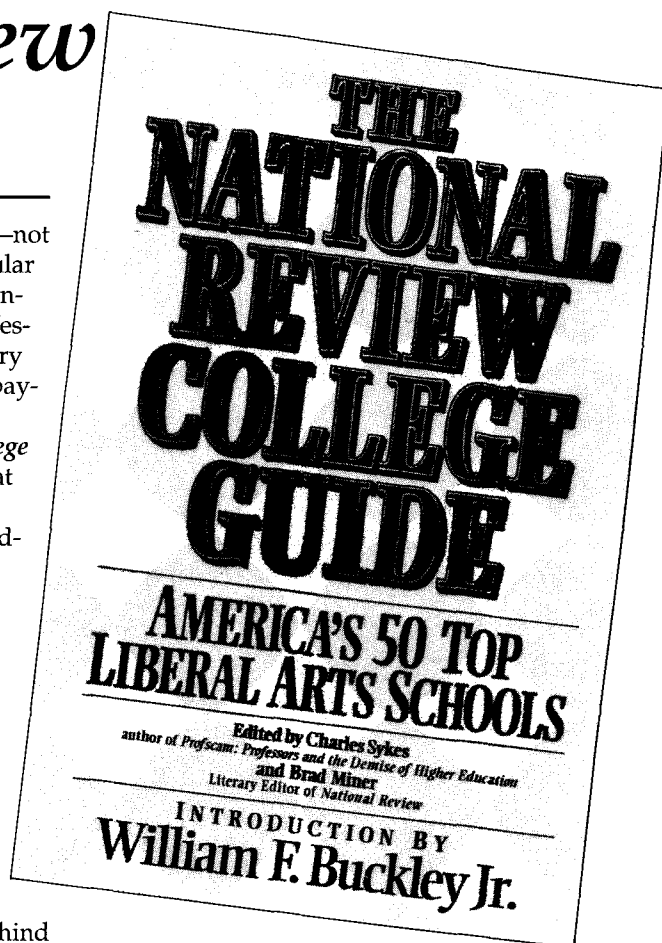
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some very close races women may find it easier to run as outsiders, capitalizing on anti-incumbency sentiment.

The Abortion Card

DESPITE the rhetoric of several radical pro-abortion groups, it appears that there will be no significant advantage for abortion-rights candidates in November. In fact, Carol Long, Pennsylvania director for National Right to Life, says, "We have some great opportunities. After the *Casey* decision everything is going our way." Pro-life candidates have won 70 to 80 per cent of contested Republican primaries.

The one major race where abortion is on the front burner is that of Gerry Sikorski (D., Minn.), who flip-flopped before the election season. Coupled

with his 697 overdrafts, this has made him extremely vulnerable to pro-life challenger Rod Gramms.

Sikorski is unusual, though: most candidates seemed to have learned from the 1990 elections that flip-flopping is a sure-fire formula for failure. According to Carol Long, candidates are changing their positions by degrees and appear to be trying to stake out positions more in the middle, where polls place the bulk of the electorate. However, because there are more pro-life than pro-choice single-issue voters, the 1992 election should continue the pro-life trend of 1988 and 1990.

The life issue, the bank scandal, redistricting, increased Republican registration, and anti-incumbent sentiment all give the GOP an edge going into November. Indeed, DCCC Political

Director Marcia Hall fears the Democrats will lose 25 to 40 seats.

The one real wild card is George Bush. Many Republican officials fear that if Bush forces do not mount a strong race down the home stretch, low Republican turnout could reduce gains in the House to a mere 10 or 20 seats. This would be a real victory for Democrats.

However, there are indications that voters are making a distinct effort to take each race separately. Jim Dornan, NRCC Southern Regional Political Director, says that, even in those states where Governor Clinton holds a large lead over President Bush, Republican congressional candidates are still polling well. "The Clinton-Gore ticket is not having a significant coat-tail effect," he says. "People are voting for change." □

Can Bad Polls Drive Out Good?

TO MUCH of the media, a poll is a poll is a poll. "News-worthiness," not quality or accuracy, determines which polls get reported. Here are some points to watch out for.

1. An unexpected poll finding is more surprising, and hence more "newsworthy," than one that confirms what other polls also report. Bad (i.e., inaccurate) polls are more likely to be surprising and therefore more likely to be reported.

2. Bad polls are cheaper than good polls. A survey of 600 people is less expensive than a survey of 1,250. A poll with very few questions is cheaper than one with more questions. High-quality sampling and interviewing cost more than poor-quality. And so on. If the media report findings regardless of their quality, why spend money on better polls?

3. One-day "instant" polls are much less accurate than polls conducted over three or four days because of all the people they miss. But the media love them because they are the "first with the news" about public reactions to events.

4. 900-number straw polls are not polls. The people who are watching the TV shows and choose to phone in

their answers are often very different from the population as a whole.

5. Poll results are the answers to questions and are therefore critically dependent on the wording and, sometimes, on the order of the questions. Never interpret the results without reading the questions carefully.

6. Opinion on most issues is more complicated than a yes/no to one or two questions. Polls inevitably simplify and categorize. To really understand public opinion on any issue—from abortion to economic policy—it is necessary to review the answers to a variety of questions addressing the issue in different ways.

7. A poll is valid only for the population surveyed and for the time of the survey. Surveys of adults, registered voters, or likely voters will all yield different answers.

8. Focus groups are not polls. Getting eight to ten people in a room to talk together has many uses, but it does not provide a measure of public opinion, as surveying a representative cross-section of people does.

9. Electronic town halls are not polls; they are not even a national version of the New England town-hall meeting. For that, tens of millions of people would have to participate, and there would have to be a comprehensive debate on each issue, with all major points of view dis-

cussed before a vote was taken. Unlikely.

10. Candidates' polls are often misleading. Polls are leaked not to inform but to influence the media and the public.

11. Polls really don't predict, they just measure. Good polls report what a representative cross-section of the public (or of likely voters) say when interviewed. The only reason that pre-election polls "predict" elections is that most people tell the interviewers how they think they will vote and then actually vote that way. But some people change their minds, and some of those who say they will vote don't. The difference between intentions and behavior, not sampling error, is the main reason why polls sometimes get it wrong.

Does this mean that all polls are worthless? Obviously not. To paraphrase Winston Churchill, polls are the worst way of measuring public opinion except all the others. We are better informed with polls than we were without them. But poll readers should recognize that polls differ dramatically in quality and accuracy, that those who pay for and publish polls have different motives.

If nobody cares about the quality of polling, cheap and dirty polls will surely drive out good ones.

—HUMPHREY TAYLOR

Mr. Taylor is President and CEO of Louis Harris and Associates, Inc.

THE MAGIC'S GONE

The generals in the war against AIDS have a strange idea of how to conduct a battle.

MICHAEL FUMENTO

SAYING THAT President Bush had "dropped the ball" in the fight against AIDS, on September 25 Earvin "Magic" Johnson tendered his resignation from the National Commission on AIDS (NCA), to

Mr. Fumento is the author of The Myth of Heterosexual AIDS, which is no longer in print and is not scheduled for paperback publication.

which the President had appointed him last November. The resignation, accompanied by a formal endorsement of Bill Clinton for President, came as no surprise: Johnson began threatening to quit the Commission shortly after his appointment, and he has already participated in celebrity fund raisers for Clinton. Johnson, as *USA Today* reported a few weeks back, "feels he was used because of his

name." Perhaps this came as a shock to a man who earns about \$12 million a year lending his name to everything from shoes to soft drinks to discount stores. Perhaps he was under the impression that he had been appointed to the NCA because of his expertise in retrovirology and epidemiology.

No matter. He did tell *USA Today* that, "They [the Commission] came up with all the data he [Bush] wanted. And he cut them down, left and right, in funding." If that's true, it does matter. And it does matter that the man who may be our next President has concurred, saying, "He [Johnson] knows that this Administration has not done anything on AIDS. We've got a good AIDS commission, a good AIDS report, good recommendations—no action."

Just what are this Commission, its "report," and its recommendations?

As with all wars, the war on AIDS has its propaganda unit, to help ensure that we remain united, and that is the NCA's function. It was founded

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in 1988, including representatives chosen by Congress and the White House. Originally headed by Admiral James Watkins, it is now headed by June Osborn, who is also Dean of the School of Public Health at the University of Michigan. "I think we are still at an impasse with the American public," she said last September. "Particularly in the center of this country, if you ask, 'Who does AIDS impact?' you still get the 1982 answer of: 'Gay men, intravenous drug addicts, and not me.'" Said Dr. Osborn on a later occasion, "This has permitted too many to detach from the fray . . . and retreat to indifference."

To counter this, the NCA and the AIDS establishment—which includes Federal Government health agencies, AIDS activist groups, and the media—have worked tirelessly to spread the perception of an epidemic growing by leaps and bounds and increasingly spilling over from the original risk groups to the population at large. In the AIDS alarmist lexicon, some persons might be more at risk but nobody is less at risk. Thus, it's PC to say that blacks and Hispanics are at greater risk, and the NCA has done so, but it is not at all PC to say that whites are at less risk.

One group specifically targeted in NCA reports is women. For all the hoopla over the first interim NCA report released in December 1989 (the front page of *New York Times*; co-lead on the ABC nightly news), one would never know it was a mere seven pages long and contained only conclusions with no substantiation. One of those conclusions, trumpeted by the media, was that "the epidemic is reaching crisis proportions among women." Yet then, as now, women accounted for only about 10 per cent of AIDS cases. While it's true that the female *percentage* has grown, this reflects far less a growing crisis among women than a reduction in the growth rate among men. The key point is that all portions of the epidemic are going flat. Reported female cases from 1989 to 1990 increased 33 per cent. From 1990 to 1991 they increased only 15 per cent. Why a dramatically declining increase in female AIDS cases is cause for slamming the panic button is difficult to see.

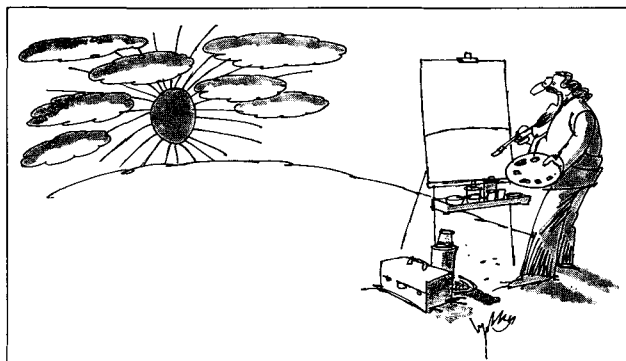
HIV-infection data show no greater

cause for alarm among women than data on actual AIDS cases. A 1989 study of more than 16,000 students at 19 U.S. college campuses showed an overall infection rate of 1 in 500. Of these, 95 per cent were male; the female rate was 1 in 5,000. A study which the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) released this past June and which was virtually ignored by the media was filled with bad news for AIDS alarmists, including the finding that HIV prevalence in childbearing women across the country "has re-

persons in their late twenties and early thirties."

Looking at the epidemic as a whole, the June 1992 CDC report concluded, "Thus, serosurveillance overall has indicated relative stability rather than a clear increase or decrease in HIV prevalence." Actually, the two largest populations being tested, military applicants and first-time blood donors, have shown a steady drop in infections since 1985, and although the CDC correctly claims that there has been a certain skewing of the figures, since persons suspecting they are infected usually don't get tested, this doesn't explain why after, say, 1987, the numbers continued to drop.

The better things get, however, the louder the NCA screams, with the result that rhetoric and reality move further and further apart. Most recently, the NCA has claimed that nothing short of a Cabinet-level position is necessary to wage its idea of a war on AIDS.



"So . . . set!"

mained unchanged over the past two years [and] similarly, the HIV prevalence in women's reproductive health clinics has shown no evidence of change in this period."

So much for "crisis proportions."

Indeed, statistics across the board belie the NCA's claims that, as Commission Vice Chairman David Rogers put it last September, "we have a steadily mounting crisis on our hands . . ." Last year's total cases were 5 per cent over the total of the year before, and the increase so far this year is even smaller.

The current hot topic in the AIDS establishment is teenagers. *U.S. News & World Report* warns that "the AIDS epidemic has taken an ominous turn toward America's youth," and that "AIDS and HIV infection are rising fastest among teens and college-age kids." Newspapers carry headlines like "AIDS Runs Wild among Teenagers," and *Newsweek* ran a cover story on this exploding new epidemic. In fact, in 1990 there was a grand total of 170 such cases diagnosed, and this number dropped to 160 last year. AIDS cases among college-age kids showed a similar drop, and data on HIV infections, such as that presented in a June 1990 report from the CDC, indicate that: "For both men and women, infection is most prevalent in

Sitzkrieg

ONE CURIOUS aspect of this so-called war is that it seems to have so little to do with what most of us would think to be a fight against the disease. Rather, the NCA's agenda is essentially what may be described as the left-wing health and social agenda. The NCA advocates national health insurance, for example, insisting that only this can deal with the tremendous future burden of AIDS cases. Yet AIDS cases are peaking at less than 50,000 cases a year. Why that will break the bank when a million cancer cases and 500,000 cancer deaths each year don't is something of a mystery.

A mystery, that is, until one looks at what else the NCA wants. The health care it wants for all AIDS patients and HIV-infected persons include not just comprehensive medical services but social ones as well, including long-term care, housing options, and income maintenance. Medicaid income eligibility levels should be raised and payment rates increased, the NCA insists. States or the Federal Government should pay health-insurance premiums for people with HIV who are forced to leave their jobs. In addition,

access to expensive drugs should be improved.

Most Americans probably believe that a true war on AIDS would consist of trying to stem the spread of the virus. But here the promulgations of the NCA become very weak. It isn't men engaging in anal sex with other men who spread AIDS, says the NCA, it is bigotry. It's not needle-sharing among addicts that spreads the disease, it is an uncaring society. In a September 1991 report, the NCA said that efforts to prevent the spread of AIDS and provide care for those with it were hampered by "two destructive attitudes within our borders . . . a thinly veiled feeling that those who acquire the virus are getting what they deserve and a collective indifference to their fate."

Those with AIDS deserve as much compassion as anyone else suffering a fatal illness. But to the extent that the disease is being spread, it is being spread one person at a time by people willingly engaging in certain acts, even though their intention is neither to spread nor to contract the disease.

The NCA will hear none of this. It has met the enemy, and it is us—with the chief among us being the Bush Administration and the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS). In a blistering attack approved by a unanimous vote, the NCA in June declared that "President Bush and the HHS have failed to meet fully their responsibilities in leading the national response to the . . . HIV/AIDS epidemic." The report also accused HHS of planning to cut back on federal funding authorized by the Ryan White Act, from \$301.2 million to \$123.2 million for fiscal 1994.

On *MacNeil/Lehrer*, HHS spokesman Kevin Molley accused Dr. Osborn of simply fabricating that charge: "We are not even in the stage of budget development for FY 94 which would enable us to contemplate it." Dr. Osborn's reply? "Good!" Mr. Molley angrily refused to let the matter drop, but he got from Dr. Osborn neither an apology nor an explanation of where the figure came from.

On the same show, Dr. Osborn gave the number of AIDS cases reported in this country and said, "That number will more than double by the end of 1993." Since the number of AIDS cases in the country at the time was 230,000, her reference was obviously

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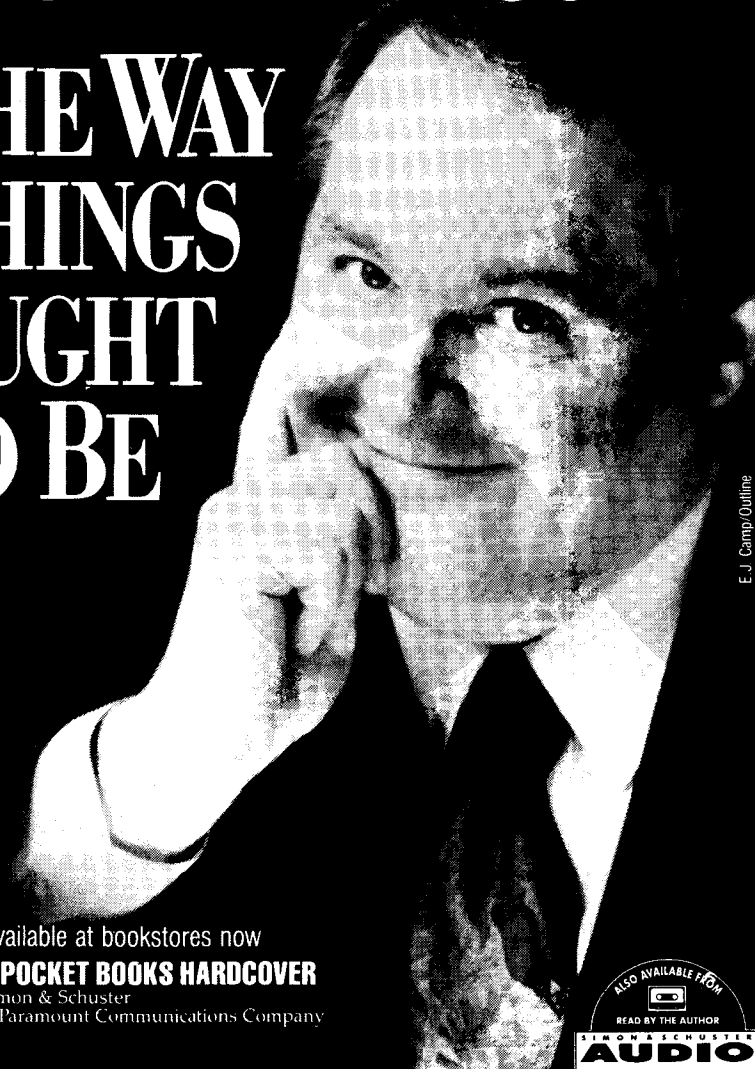
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to the 1990 CDC estimate of 480,000 cases by the end of 1993, which has now been clearly falsified by an epidemic that has failed to live up to projections. Did she *really* think that a slowing epidemic currently causing 48,000 cases a year would cause 250,000 more cases in the next 18 months?

University of Southern California health economist Joel Hay says of the NCA, "I've come to the conclusion that

they're just flat-out lying now. They make things up and justify it to themselves because they feel their cause is just."

The PR effort of appointing Magic Johnson to the NCA having come to naught, President Bush, if re-elected, may wish to consider why the American people should continue to fund a gang which sees as its purpose grossly deceiving the public on such a terribly important issue. □

until elections are held the president will be whoever heads Frelimo. This cosy continuation of dictatorship in all but name is fully colluded in by the State Department.

The results of agricultural collectivization and central control of the economy (the practice of private enterprise having been punishable by flogging) are spectacular even by Communist standards. From being one of the jewels of Africa when the Portuguese left in 1974, Mozambique is now officially the world's poorest nation. Once self-sufficient in maize, sorghum, cashew nuts, and many other crops, the country is today totally dependent on foreign aid. Its foreign debt is greater than its gross domestic product.

Yet the men who brought about this economic and social catastrophe are feted by the State Department. Meanwhile, the Renamistas—unlike Unita, the Contras, and the Afghan *mujahedin*—are treated as lepers by the West. The Frelimo propaganda machine—trained by the Soviets during the cold war in techniques of misinformation and disinformation—has managed to portray Renamo as a latter-day Khmer Rouge and itself as an embattled but responsible Third World government. *Media Watch* discovered that of 26 articles published in the U.S. on a well-publicized atrocity in Mozambique in 1987, 17 relied solely on accounts supplied by the government news agency.

Only free and fair elections can settle the question of whether Renamo or Frelimo enjoys the support of the Mozambican people which both claim. Renamo has consistently called for such elections, but Frelimo has dragged its feet. Standard Leninist practice, but why should the Bush Administration collude in this blatant rebuff to its professed goal of worldwide democracy? Why does it not attach conditions to the vast amount of aid donated to Mozambique?

The answer lies in the Gersony Report, commissioned by the State Department in 1988. In it Renamo was accused of perpetrating atrocities in the marathon struggle, and Frelimo was largely exonerated. The report was methodologically questionable. The interviewer, Robert Gersony, was unfamiliar with any of Mozambique's languages and dialects, and had to work through local translators sympa-

(Continues on page 69)

Mozambique's Protracted Conflict

BRAVE NEW ORDER

Whose side is the State Department on, anyway?
Not, in Mozambique, the side of freedom and prosperity.

ROBIN BIRLEY

DO YOU remember the "New World Order"? In those balmy days after the Gulf War, when the polls had George Bush as the most popular politician since Ike, the President talked about bringing the world Democracy and Peace. He was telling the remaining tyrannies that they could run, but they couldn't hide.

As with most such grandiose pronouncements, it did not take long for nemesis to arrive. Saddam survived, Yugoslavia disintegrated, and Los Angeles ignited. Mr. Bush had to look to his domestic difficulties, and now the New World Order has been quietly dropped by the State Department.

Foggy Bottom's attitude to the President's utopian pronouncements could, in any case, be deduced by the policy it has long pursued toward Mozambique. Far from promoting democracy and peace in that corner of Africa, America's foreign-policy makers have sided with a "reformist" Marxist-Leninist regime (Frelimo) in its 15-year-old war against the pro-Western, pro-free-market opposition force (Renamo). Renamo's leader, Alfonso Dlakama—young and happily married, a devout Catholic, and an admirer of Ronald

Reagan and Margaret Thatcher—cannot understand the West's zeal for keeping Frelimo in power. Since 1982 nearly half a billion U.S. taxpayer dollars have been channeled to Frelimo, in economic aid and now in military assistance. In a re-run of Jimmy Carter's support of the Sandinistas, which was designed to encourage "reform from within," the State Department under both Reagan and Bush has hoped to "wean" Frelimo off the command economy and toward the free market. The result is that America is now propping up one of the world's last Communist regimes.

The highest authority in Mozambique is still Frelimo's ten-member Politburo. This answers to a Central Committee, which in turn is elected by a People's Congress. The head of the Politburo, KGB-trained Joaquim Chissano, is also President of the Republic. Do these constitutional arrangements remind you of anything? Furthermore, article 46 of the constitution—rewritten in 1990 to tone down the overt Marxism-Leninism after the fall of European Communism—mandates that all land must be owned by the state. Religious, ethnic, and regional parties are banned, and of course no date has been set for any elections. The constitution states that

Mr. Birley is a businessman and chairman of the Mozambique Institute.

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

What Culture? What Elite?

JOSEPH SOBRAN

ONE OF THE great misnomers of this age of misnomers is "adult entertainment." That which is totally unfit for children is assumed to be thereby suitable for adults, when in fact it's pitched to adolescent appetites, emotions, and curiosities.

Over the past generation, the entertainment industry has become "adult" only in this sense. Not that it ever aimed very high, but at least it used to respect public decency.

Just how bad it has gotten, and why, is the subject of Michael Medved's *Hollywood vs. America: Popular Culture and the War on Traditional Values*. "Hollywood" here is an eponym for the whole industry; only Paramount, of the ten major movie-production companies, still inhabits what Medved calls "the sadly seedy district of Los Angeles that is of-

***Hollywood vs. America*, by Michael Medved (HarperCollins, 416 pp., \$20)**

ficially designated 'Hollywood.'" And pop music and TV shows also fall within the book's purview.

The title leads one to expect a catalogue of filth combined with simplistic denunciation. At times the book does veer in that direction. Surely it's wrong to lump a great film like *Black Robe* with the vulgarly anti-religious trash typical of current movies. And Hollywood's good old days were pretty dreary; the most you can say for them is that the old movies appealed to better-behaved adolescents. An industry that regards a good weeper like *Casablanca* as one of its proudest achievements is a long way from high art.

But Medved's catalogue is damning enough. It's a sort of gripping reference book; start reading it, and you'll find it hard to put down. To call it a catalogue is not to belittle it; like anything else, making lists can be done either mechanically or discerningly. Medved's lists are achievements of perception, as well as useful collections of information. As a reviewer he has "endured," as he puts it, six or seven movies a week for many years,

and he has noticed patterns others have missed.

Everyone knows about the intensifying sex, violence, and foul language in movies (and TV is catching up). But Medved assimilates these familiar



Roberto Parada

things to a deeper theme: hostility to the normal. Not only is "sex" pervasive in films; it's nearly always what used to be known as fornication. (Quick: name a movie in which *married* people are shown making it.) And violence is no longer a matter of punchings and shootings and slumping bodies, à la Cagney; it increasingly means mutilation, shown in closeup, complete with shrieks.

Medved makes the convergent point that the industry rarely shows religious life except to ridicule it or use

it for sinister effect. Clergymen are usually shown as fanatics or hypocritical buffoons: these have become clichés of the business. Ordinary characters seldom pray, even when faced with death—though as Medved notes, one survey found that 78 per cent of Americans say prayer is an important part of their daily lives.

Two of the few recent films that have dealt with religion, *The Last Temptation of Christ* and *At Play in the Fields of the Lord*, were not only hostile to traditional faith; they were simply ignorant of their subject and, despite claims to have been deeply researched, full of howlers.

But other forms of behavior are overrepresented in the movies. One of Medved's more startling lists is his roster of recent films in which characters are shown vomiting and urinating. Medved rattles off more than thirty movies that have included barf scenes, plus 15 featuring pee. The more ambitious films show characters being puked or peed on by others.

Of course Hollywood's perps always plead Art to justify their deliberate bad taste. Surprisingly, Medved grants that there is something in this. Contrary to the common assumption, Hollywood's excesses don't pay commercially: since the late Sixties, when the New Candor set in with a vengeance, Hollywood has driven away a large part of its old audience. He cites statistics indicating that even now, G and PG movies outdraw R movies by a wide margin.

What's going on? Medved's explanation is that Hollywood producers and directors really want to think of themselves as artists, not hacks, so they affect the alienated—and alienating—poses they think of as artistic. Within the Hollywood community, status attaches to films and even TV shows that *épater*. Witness the way Candice Bergen's stock has risen since she managed to provoke an attack by Dan Quayle. As the Emmy ceremony showed, she is the pride and envy of this industry that yearns to be seen as something more than a mere industry.

It's all very well to make money, but the real payoff is prestige among one's peers. One way to get that is to keep pushing at the margins of bourgeois morality, even—or especially—if you lose money on a controversial project. That's *art*, baby, and the more the Quayles attack you as a "cultural

Mr. Sobran is NR's Critic-at-Large.

elite," the more self-congratulatory all Hollywood can be.

Just by enumerating the industry's excesses, Medved exposes this stuff as so much cliché. It is mass-produced, and it's hard to keep a straight face when its purveyors claim artistic necessity. The best test is retrospective. Has anyone ever suggested that *Casa-blanca* would have been improved by a nude scene between Bogie and Bergman? Nonsense. We wouldn't have been seeing Rick and Ilsa making love; we'd have been seeing Bogart and Bergman with their clothes off, that's all—a distraction from the story, not an enhancement of it.

It may also be worth pointing out that sex and violence, whatever their separate merits, at least used to be two different things. But nowadays

movies and pop records are combining them in scenes and lyrics of sexual torture and maiming, which actually invite you to complain, since your complaint automatically yanks the tripwire to self-congratulation (not to mention publicity). Nobody who has convinced himself that he's an artist is capable of entertaining for even a moment the possibility that he really *is* obscene and vulgar. The accusation itself certifies not only his innocence but his affinity with Joyce and Lawrence.

Some culture. Some elite. The industry is flattered to be attacked in such terms. Alarm is certainly justified, but hooting would probably have more effect, since the industry has constructed ideological defenses that convert all criticism into persecution and vileness into victimhood. □

have differed on the average by about 15 points (i.e., one standard deviation) for generations. It discusses the higher scores of Asians living in the vibrantly successful Pacific Rim economies, largely run by the ethnic Chinese, Koreans, and Japanese. High Chinese scores in Communist China foreshadow rapid economic growth as Communism disappears, for, as Seligman shows, the link between a country's economic success and its average IQ echoes data at the individual level. The book summarizes evidence showing that national IQ rises when a country modernizes, for reasons that are not fully understood.

Looking to a more distant horizon, Seligman considers the possibility of declining scores from generation to generation, if people with high scores continue to reproduce at low rates. This is highly controversial, and Seligman concedes that talking about differential fertility harks back to eugenics. But before eugenics was perverted by the Nazis, it was seen by such respectable and upright people as Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. as a matter of designing public policies to improve human hereditary endowment in humane and voluntary ways, such as disseminating information about birth control. It now takes a rare person to discuss publicly, let alone advocate, anything that sounds like eugenics. But one can detect eugenic thinking in the widespread support for Planned Parenthood and "abortion rights." If that is so, it would be better for such reasoning to be openly discussed rather than allowed to influence public policy covertly and thus probably more crudely. Still one senses that not many will join Seligman in getting out front here.

The facts that Seligman summarizes are as unknown to the general public as they are familiar to experts. Here are some examples of frequently mistold tales, with particular relevance to concerns of the day:

Miracle in Milwaukee: In the mid 1970s, we all heard repeatedly about what the media liked to call an educational miracle. IQs had been raised by about thirty points, the story went, in two to three dozen inner-city youngsters in Milwaukee who, by virtue of their backgrounds, appeared destined for mental retardation. Instead of growing up retarded, the media reported, the kids were scoring high av-

Subversive Intelligence

RICHARD J. HERRNSTEIN

IN THE MOOD for something really subversive? If so, read *A Question of Intelligence*, by Daniel Seligman, a regular columnist and former senior editor at *Fortune* magazine. What we have here is a book on IQ tests—what they are, what they measure, and what they mean for everyday life. Seligman, it is no secret, had trouble finding a publisher. That is part of the story of intelligence test-

A Question of Intelligence, by Daniel Seligman (Birch Lane, 256 pp., \$16.95)

ing, too. One explanation of his troubles may be that prospective publishers discovered that the book was too clearly written for so rich a lode of forbidden facts.

Seligman starts with an engaging introduction to the modern intelligence test. In preparing to write this book, he had himself professionally tested. I assume it is modesty that keeps him from telling us his score, but, as a device for explaining tests, his description of the experience works well. And it rapidly disposes of two common, and bogus, charges that you run into in the popular media—

Mr. Herrnstein is a professor of psychology at Harvard.



namely that an IQ test is just a test of academic knowledge, and that it is loaded with things you are taught by virtue of being a white, middle-class American. Seligman skillfully shows that an intelligence test is more nearly a way to cut through those things, to get at the core of the individual's capacity, to measure something plausibly called intelligence.

Moving on, the book reviews some well-established findings: for example, that intelligence has hereditary, as well as environmental, roots; that East Asians earn higher scores than whites; and that blacks and whites

erage or superior, thanks to the educational enrichments contrived by the project's director, a well-connected University of Wisconsin professor named F. Rick Heber. Confronted with so momentous a discovery, who would cavil at the cost of this federally funded project, which was about \$14 million?

Seligman provides an update. The "miracle" quickly faded from view, because little was getting published where scholars could evaluate it. But then, to the amazement of critics and boosters alike, Heber and some of his top associates were convicted of various crimes, including embezzling institutional funds. Of course, it could still have been a miracle (even felons can do science), but when the results of the study were finally published a couple of years ago, it was arguable whether they showed any educational benefits at all.

L'affaire Burt: Sir Cyril Burt, a much acclaimed British psychologist during the first half of the century, suddenly showed up in 1976 in our daily papers and on evening network news, after the London *Sunday Times* insinuated that Burt had faked data showing that identical twins growing

up in separated homes have similar IQs, and that he invented research assistants to lend credibility to his hoax. Burt's fraud has been enshrined in the media pantheon next to Piltdown man. Inasmuch as the similarity between separated twins is a significant piece of evidence that there is a heritable ingredient in intelligence, discrediting Burt seemed to many commentators to discredit the theory of heritable intelligence.

The inference was wrong even then, for Burt's data were not alone in making the case for a heritable component in intelligence. What is more interesting is how little the public has heard about subsequent events.

A new study of identical twins, conducted at the University of Minnesota, has confirmed Burt's findings to the second decimal place. The "invented" research assistants have been located. Most bizarre of all: the putatively nonexistent data may have been destroyed at the prompting of one of Burt's critics.

Restrictive Immigration: Last year, the U.S. Congress's Office of Technology Assessment reported that IQ tests have been used for racist purposes—for example, to pass exclusionary im-

migration laws. This charge, focusing on the discriminatory Immigration Restriction Act of 1924, has turned up frequently in public discourse since it first surfaced in a 1974 book by psychologist Leon Kamin, then of Princeton. The main problem with the story is that it is untrue. The testing community had nothing to do with getting the law passed; the few testers who publicly expressed opinions about the law more often opposed than favored it; Congress itself made no use of test scores. Seligman quite sensibly calls the continuing repetition of this story, in the face of numerous refutations, a fraud. And it is nonsense to boot, inasmuch as some of the very groups who have been excluded from America—the East Asians, for example—would benefit from an intelligence standard for immigration.

The bottom line? In America, we have not yet learned to apply scientific realism about human diversity to our arguments about education, immigration, ethnic relations, parenthood, and other hot topics. We can only assume that it is this concern, more than his journalistic conscience, that impelled Seligman to write this honest, important, and courageous book. □

1492 AND ALL THAT Political Manipulations of History

ROBERT ROYAL

The 500th anniversary of the first voyage of Christopher Columbus has spurred a host of attempts to recast the history of the Americas. Some revisionists are even trying to use the past to advance "politically correct" goals. Robert Royal examines the available facts and suggests that little of the early cultural mixing in the Americas during the time of Columbus can be characterized in strictly black and white terms drawn from contemporary controversies.

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ETHICS AND PUBLIC POLICY CENTER

Serious Business

WILLIAM E. SIMON

ONE OF MY favorite cartoons is a sketch by Skelly depicting two Catholic bishops delivering a homily on "economic salvation." One intones from a "Pastoral Letter" while the other squints at an economics textbook held upside down. Between them a large chart shows nonsensical zigzagging lines and the word "Taxes," on either side of which are

Doing Well and Doing Good: The Challenge to the Christian Capitalist, by Richard John Neuhaus (Doubleday, 331 pp., \$22)

"The Poor" and "The Very, Very Rich." A kneeling parishioner prays: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they are talking about."

In my work with several Catholic lay organizations, and especially when I collaborated with a group of Catholic businessmen in responding to the American Bishops' Pastoral Letter on "Catholic Social Teaching and the U.S. Economy," I often felt like that parishioner. My invocation, however, was more along the lines of, "Father, teach them, for they know not what they are talking about." Pope John Paul II's encyclical *Centesimus Annus* ("The Hundredth Year") goes a long way toward answering that prayer. The title refers to the centenary of Pope Leo XIII's 1891 encyclical on economics, *Rerum Novarum* ("The New Things"), which was strongly critical of the capitalist system. In *Centesimus Annus*, Pope John Paul explicitly condemns socialism, and explains that capitalism, when understood as an appreciation of "the positive role of business, the market, private property, and . . . free human creativity" within "a strong juridical framework," is the economic philosophy best suited to the Church's understanding of "the inherent dignity of the individual."

Predictably, the liberal interest groups and their friends in the media wasted no time in putting a spin on the Pope's words. Largely ignoring John Paul's praise for the virtues of

capitalism and his critique of the welfare state, they highlighted his warnings that the openness and opportunities of the free market are susceptible to abuse. Of course, it is no surprise—nor should it disappoint conservatives—that the Pope sees capitalism as imperfect. Like any human system, capitalism is only as good as the people who make it work. But only those who look for salvation in economic or political institutions equate the recog-



Neil Brennan

nition of flaws with an admission of failure.

So it is refreshing to read a forceful and lucid clarification of this whole matter, as Father Richard John Neuhaus provides in this first book-length treatment of *Centesimus Annus*. Neuhaus, editor-in-chief of the journal *First Things* and religion editor of *NR*, has long been a keen observer of the sometimes bewildering relationships among theology, economics, politics, and culture. Moreover, Neuhaus is no abstract analyst. For 17 years he was the Lutheran pastor of a poor, black and Hispanic parish in Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant area. Drawing from these experiences, and from his broad understanding of the history of Catholic social thought, Neuhaus succeeds in clarifying this large and often confusing subject.

Doing Well and Doing Good primarily discusses the Catholic contribution to the ongoing debate on the American experiment in freedom and democracy. Nevertheless, that debate is of such

universal importance that Neuhaus's thoughts on the Catholic part of it should concern everyone. John Paul's forthright endorsement of the free market and entrepreneurship in *Centesimus Annus* reverses a traditional political alignment. While, in the past, socialists have often invoked Church teachings, it is now we conservatives who can invoke the authority of the Catholic social gospel. Some will reply that the Church should confine its activities to spiritual matters and leave public policy to secular experts (a position to which I am sympathetic). In fact, neither the Pope nor Father Neuhaus advocates any specific policies, but they focus rather on broad moral questions as these pertain to economics and economic institutions. The Pope, in Neuhaus's view, does not wish to offer "a theology of economics," but rather "to think Christianly about economics." What John Paul does is endorse private property, the free exchange of capital and goods, and open participation in the "circle of productivity" as the fundamental conditions for the moral life of individuals and societies, and for the Christian aims of justice and the common good. He is happy to leave the details for laymen to work out.

Centesimus Annus, according to Neuhaus, comes closest to making specific recommendations regarding the alleviation of poverty. The poor (individuals and nations alike), John Paul says, have a claim on all Catholics and, indeed, on all people of goodwill. But, unlike enthusiasts for the welfare state, John Paul does not call for the redistribution of income as the way to aid the poor, but rather urges that we intensify our efforts to bring the poor into the "circle of productivity and exchange" so that they can participate as full members of the free-enterprise system. The success of the American experiment itself offers powerful testimony to the rightness of the Pope's vision, since over the past two centuries millions of people from all over the globe have come streaming to our shores seeking only the opportunity to work and prosper, and to enjoy the blessings of freedom. The Pope's message, like our history, is one of freedom and empowerment through participation in the private-enterprise system.

The Pope thus sees capitalism as the solution, not as the problem.

Mr. Simon, Secretary of the Treasury under Presidents Nixon and Ford, is the author of two books, A Time for Truth and A Time for Action.

Centesimus Annus, explains Neuhaus, challenges us "to think about poverty not in terms of exploitation by the free market of work and capital, but as exclusion from that market." Neuhaus identifies the key to John Paul's vision in this discussion of how to aid the poor. Capitalism, in contrast to socialism and the welfare state, is a system of free individuals, rather than a faceless bureaucracy administering the fate of large classes of people. Free men and women find a way to express their God-given dignity in the opportunity to make good choices—good for themselves and their communities. As Neuhaus explains, the free market, like the free society, though not itself moral, is certainly desirable because its openness provides the opportunity for moral action. In his words, "John Paul is not pitting the market and morality against one another. His attention fixes on the acting person. The same creativity, initiative, and enterprise that make the market work can help direct the working of the market to worthy ends." It is thus the task of the Church, and of other religious institutions, to elevate our free society by directing people toward virtuous pursuits.

The Pope especially challenges those who have been blessed by economic freedom to use their wealth in a con-

structive way to assist those in need and to strengthen the bonds of society generally. The Pope does not attack wealth itself or the wealthy, because, plainly, to do is to jeopardize the precious freedom that makes wealth possible in the first place. Here the Pope's thinking has much in common with that of Andrew Carnegie, who wrote in his *Gospel of Wealth* that "the duty of the man of wealth is to set an example of modest, unostentatious living, to provide moderately for the legitimate wants of those dependent on him, and to consider all surplus revenues trust funds to administer for the most beneficial results to the community."

Many will disagree with the moral and economic teachings of *Centesimus Annus*. Those who still cling to outworn ideas of socialism and collectivism will object to the idea that, as Neuhaus puts it, "the answer to abuses of the free market is not always to be found in the economic system . . . but is finally moral and spiritual." The great contribution of John Paul's historic encyclical, and of Father Neuhaus's compelling interpretation, is in the understanding that the moral guidance of the kind provided by *Centesimus Annus* will always be needed and will never be made obsolete by secular reforms. □

FILM

The Road to Stockholm

JOHN SIMON

IS THERE much point in reviewing *Husbands and Wives*, Woody Allen's latest? With the invaluable publicity the movie has been getting via Woody, Mia, their sundry daughters, and the media, breathes there anyone with soul so dead who to him or herself hasn't said, "I've got to check this one out"? It's open season for the hunting of clues, parallels, revelations, and, with a mere few dollars as the price of a license, who wouldn't join in the hunt?

But before you rush off to catch the movie, isn't it time for a little summing up of Allen's oeuvre? It has become progressively clearer—though it

was pretty clear a long time ago—that Allen is a gifted comedian and impassioned workaholic who, given the carte blanche withheld from less fortunate filmmakers, has turned out a number of funny film comedies and a number of terrible, almost equally funny, film dramas. And he has also scored successes with an in-between genre, e.g., *Hannah and Her Sisters*, meant to be both funny and serious, which, though a bit more fitfully, can match the serious efforts for badness.

Husbands and Wives belongs to this tertium quid, and if one had nothing better to do, one could speculate about whether it is a comedy with serious overtones or a drama with comic undertones. It concerns Gabe Roth (Woody Allen), a novelist who teaches

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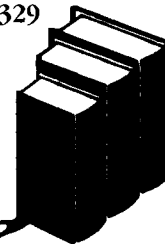
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Mr. Simon, NR's film critic, is also theater critic for New York magazine.

creative writing at Barnard; his wife, Judy (Mia Farrow), an art-magazine editor; and their favorite fellow married couple: Jack (Sydney Pollack), a big businessman, and his wife, Sally (Judy Davis), who works in Landmarks Preservation. (Typically for an Allen film, we do not see her preserve a single landmark.) While everyone here is, of course, a neurotic, Sally is an advanced neurotic, a ballbreaker but also a self-destroyer.

As the film begins, Jack and Sally arrive at the Roths to go out for dinner, and announce with somewhat studied casualness that they are divorcing. This sends the insecurely married Roths into a tailspin, and they try to talk them out of it—Judy even gets furious. All kinds of palaver crisscross the scene as the handheld camera flash-pans truculently from one character to the next. Meanwhile the characters themselves indulge in a frantic choreography through various rooms, with the camera sometimes hurtling after them, sometimes colliding with them, and sometimes cunningly lying in wait for them. Bits of Bergman, Godard, and even Casavetes fly by; it feels like riding out a storm in a Piper Cub.

In the course of the movie, Jack will set out on some tawdry dalliances, presented as crosses between a sight gag and a vignette, until he comes to a halt at Sam (Lysette Anthony), a pretty, very young aerobics instructor who also dabbles in nutrition and astrology. When Gabe condescendingly refers to her as a cocktail waitress, Jack parries, "So she's not Simone de Beauvoir, but I can relax with her. . . . I was bored at the opera. . . . I want someone who digs her nails into my back and screams. . . ." I doubt whether businessman Jack, for whom even the operas Sally drags him to are too much, would so mundanely invoke Simone de Beauvoir—more likely it is Woody venting his everlasting erudition. But this is paradigmatic Allen stuff. Is Gabe proving his acuity by equating aerobics and waitressing? Or is this a dig at his snobbery? Is Beauvoirism a good or a bad thing? Is full-throttle sex with a dizzy young chick the best medicine for marital stalemate or just a middle-aged escapist's pathetic stratagem? Is being a cocktail waitress really worse than being a businessman?

Throughout, Allen depends on these

kinds of ambiguities, this juggling with open questions made to look like the ultimate in sophistication, if not indeed profundity. An artist may, and very often does, use ambiguity creatively, but then not so glibly, casually, polysemously perversely, until everything becomes trickery. You might say that Allen makes fun of the superficiality of his characters. The old joke about Hollywood is that it is so much fake tinsel hiding the genuine tinsel. Could Allen's lampooned superficiality merely conceal the real one?

Consider another scene, in which Sally, who has predictably ended up enraged at Jack's defection, finally goes on a date of her own. The man is taking her to the opera: *Don Giovanni*. This enables the mentally hyperventi-



Shannon Jeffries

lating Sally to draw parallels between Jack and Juan (clever!) and at the same time reveal that she knows little about *Don Giovanni* (funny!) and cares less. But how could any person who kept dragging her husband to the opera have escaped this one, whether she was a genuine opera lover or a fake? Clearly, Woody makes up his gags as he goes along, with little regard for consistency or dramatic logic.

Now take a still later scene, in which Michael (Liam Neeson), a handsome fellow editor of Judy's, takes out Sally on a date engineered by the matchmaking Judy. (Later, Judy, who herself secretly wants Michael—surprise!—will resent Sally's making out with him—surprise, surprise!) Anyway, Michael takes Sally to a concert featuring the Mahler Ninth. Afterward she tells him that it was divine, but that the last movement could have

been cut a little bit. The audience laughs, yet what does this really mean? That Sally is a sickie who must spoil everything for everyone, herself included? Or that she is a fool who would criticize a masterpiece? Or does she merely find Mahler sometimes excessive, as some critics and connoisseurs do—even if Allen may not realize it? Ambiguity, intended and unintended, proliferates and leaves issues good and muddled.

Still, let us assume that Allen knows what he is doing, and that he is being satirical here. A true satirist, however, is a good hater or lover, or, better yet, both. Allen appears to be neither. If he has any feeling for his characters—other than his alter egos—it is patronization. With every scene and almost every one-liner, you can identify the intended audience by address: this is a bit for the Upper West Side crowd; this one is for the Upper East Siders; this is a sop to SoHo and Tribeca. Allen is an operator: things are geared to these enclaves, which are being massaged in their little prejudices, condescensions, foolishnesses. These scenes, these gags are expensively packaged cheap shots.

And something else: true humor always comes as a genuine surprise. Too many of Allen's ironies and witticisms, however, are predictable. Just as Judy resents Sally's short-lived success with Michael, and just as Sally resents Jack's adventures with other women, Jack goes to pieces the moment he hears about Sally and other men. I could cite other instances, but this movie cannot afford to have that much of its sparse plot given away. Totally unsurprising to Allen buffs, though, should be the casting, in the role of Judy's ex-husband of the in-the-news ex-president of Yale, Benno Schmidt. Having already embarked on a much-publicized but spurious venture, Schmidt must have felt right at home here. He typifies Allen's intellectual-cachet-mongering casting procedures, also represented here by the writers Bruce Jay Friedman and Jack Richardson in bit parts.

For similar prestige reasons, Juliette Lewis was cast as Rain, the supposedly brilliant twenty-year-old who is the brainy and sexy star of Gabe's writing course. The saving grace of Scorsese's rancid *Cape Fear*, she was snapped up when Emily Lloyd became unavailable. But Miss Lewis is neither

sexy nor flaky, and it is hard to believe her as the sexpot who seduces, among others, her father's business partner and her own psychiatrist. Woody Allen doesn't quite know what to do with the character. He makes fun of her mother for naming her after her favorite poet, Rainer Maria Rilke (good thing Mom's favorite wasn't Odysseus Elytis); he makes fun of her fellow Barnard students who write papers on "The Orgasm in the Age of Deconstruction"; he makes fun of her middle-aged shrink who throws a jealous tantrum on her doorstep, where he lies in wait for her as Gabe brings her home one afternoon. But he treats her having had affairs with at least three middle-aged men as mere growing pains and an excuse for sallies such as "What the hell am I doing with the midlife-crisis set?" And her flirtation with Gabe remains platonic—perhaps because she represents Soon-Yi, who must not be besmirched.

But Allen is no better with the character of Michael, played by the current Hibernian heart-throb, the somewhat beefy, brogue-brandishing Liam Neeson. Michael is meant to be truly good, which Allen can't deal with. After all, it is his alter ego, Gabe, who, for all his flaws, must emerge as the battered existential hero. Michael must be subtly queered, lest he seem better than Gabe. So he is made to talk of "going to see [*sic*] Mahler's Ninth." So, too, he becomes the awkward *terzo incomodo* when Jack finds Sally in *flagrante* with him; and so, when he ends up ostensibly happily married to Judy—labeled a passive-aggressive type, and the film's least sympathetic character—he seems uncomfortable, unmanned. Gabe, in his final aloneness, is a Pyrrhic victor. True, he doesn't get Rain, but he does get rained on when Judy kicks him out in a downpour, and, thus cleansed, he wises up: "I realized that I really blew it," he says, sans wisecrack.

Even the nature of the jokes here is denatured—by pretentiousness, far-fetchedness, and the formulaic. We are to laugh at "anyone who writes a paper saying the Sabine women had it coming to them," but we are to chuckle admiringly when Gabe (who speaks rather ungrammatically for a writer-professor) says to Rain: "Your line was great—about life doesn't imitate art, it imitates television," a case of Woody painting Wilde's lily. When, at her

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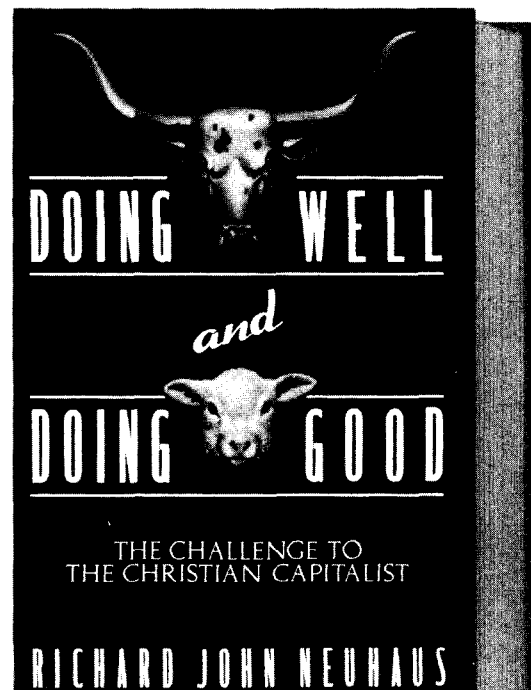
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21st-birthday party, Rain asks Gabe to kiss her on the mouth, he exclaims, "Why is it that I'm hearing fifty thousand dollars' worth of psychotherapy dialing 911?" This is Woody with his hangups, but it's not integrated into Gabe and the movie. Similarly, "I always fall in love with kamikaze women" who "crash into you" is not Gabe but Woody in his self-pitying, or shell-shocked sex-war veteran, mode, laughing through his scars. And how is one to tell whether a line like the quotation from Shelley, "I fall upon the thorns of life! I bleed!" is intended to be funny or to show off Woody's erudition? Quite often with Allen, art imitates the dictionary of quotations or the thesaurus.

The terrible thing is that this entire sorry mess is supposed to equal, if not surpass, Ingmar Bergman. Vincent Canby, who early on sealed Allen's doom by proclaiming him the American Bergman, is at it again in his review of *Husbands and Wives*, which, he says, "goes beneath the surface of things in a way few movies ever do." It is "Mr. Allen's uproarious answer to Ingmar Bergman's . . . *Scenes from a Marriage*." Answer? What was the question? We can't, of course, blame it all on Canby, and the only reason I

won't say it takes two to tango is so as not to give anyone the idea of pronouncing Woody the American Borges.

The monstrous conceit of the man comes through in one of the filmmaker's conceits. Modeling himself on Bergman's *The Passion of Anna*, Allen introduces sequences in which the characters are interviewed about their lives. The offscreen voice of Jeffrey Kurland, the film's costume designer, drones out questions to which a given character, in tight closeup, spouts answers into a lavalier microphone bemedaling his or her chest. Bergman himself has since repudiated this device as a mistake, but in his film, at any rate, the actors commented on their characters *qua* actors, by way of a Brechtian alienation effect. Here, however, the characters remain in character and pontificate, either improvising or mouthing the "improvisations" Allen has written for them. It makes no sense. Is this a TV talk-show host interviewing them? (Remember, life imitates television, or something.) But what TV show even is low enough to want to interview these characters about their dreary relationships? Well, you say, Woody thought them worthy of a whole movie about them. True, but that is *his* problem. □

summed up: Bach told us both what was, and what was to be.

But we should carefully attend to just what kind of a school Bach was, and is. His is a school of measure, of exactitude, with a place for each note and each note in its place. Our Bach notes this summer will attempt to describe just what this Bach school is and what it is not, for if we understand Bach better as a teacher, we may be better prepared to understand our own musical predicament.

Bach has achieved a curious primacy in our music. His is not the limitless popularity of Mozart, whose most minor squiggles are the very stuff of international record-marketing. Nor is his the woolly romanticism that has made of the Finale of the Ninth Symphony a hymn for all—in today's new-minted usage—person-kind. Even at Bach's most engaging, his music, as a bright person of my acquaintance once said of all truly worthwhile intellectual controversy, fairly screams not pleasure but duty. Despite all the melody in Bach—and we dare not forget that every horizontal succession of his notes is the purest song—it is not to our *feelings* that the greatest instrumental compositions of Bach appeal, but rather to our *minds*. Indeed, we might go so far as to say that Bach is the Aristotle, and perhaps also the St. Thomas Aquinas, of composers. Bach, of course, is the apogee of musical system-making: standing as he does as the summation of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century counterpoint, Bach makes music out of rules, as Aristotle and St. Thomas make life out of logic. When we play Bach today—on whatever instruments, and, I am tempted to say, in whatever style—we prove that art at its highest exists on a rational foundation; that nothing in art is mere "expression" or, what is even worse, "self-expression"; that art is thought in action, thought as the dialogue not of the mind with itself, but of minds with each other.

Bach shares with Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart the distinction of being the most played composer in our Western tradition. Just as with Mozart, every note of Bach is played and re-played, recorded and re-recorded. Nonetheless, there is, as I have pointed out, a subtle difference between our attitudes toward the music of the two composers. So far as our

MUSIC

Back to Bach

SAMUEL LIPMAN

Since 1987, the Waterloo Music Festival and School, of which I am the artistic director, has begun each of our six summer chamber concerts at Princeton University with short works of Bach—mostly fugues—played in transcriptions for small groups of strings, winds, brass, and even percussion. Some of these transcriptions are "store-bought" off the music-store shelf. Others are made by our faculty artists; for our last concert each summer, Gerard Schwarz, our principal conductor, makes a transcription for chamber orchestra. To date, we have done the entire Art of Fugue and The Musical Offering. For the past three years, we have been working our way through the riches of the Well-Tempered

Clavier. What follows comes from my weekly program notes for the just-concluded 1992 season.

JOHANN Sebastian Bach is not just a composer. He is not only the most prolific composer in our music. He is not even just a sublimely great composer. He is still more. He is the great school of our music. Bach uniquely sums up the polyphony that came before him, and he also prefigures both the Romanticism of the nineteenth century and the Neoclassical reaction against that romanticism which flourished in the first half of the twentieth century. Furthermore, in the rigor of his counterpoint he prepared the intellectual ground for the serialism—often called atonality—that proved so influential from about 1910 to the 1970s. It can be simply

Mr. Lipman is publisher of The New Criterion.

large—perhaps even bloated—musical audience is concerned, Mozart has written many of what are vulgarly called “hit tunes”: just take, for example, the present pop-icon status of the “Jupiter” and the G-minor Symphonies, the C-major Piano Concerto K.467, and the orchestral introductions to *The Magic Flute*, *Don Giovanni*, and *The Marriage of Figaro*. The situation is quite different with Bach. Even the once-ubiquitous “Air on the G String” seems to be passing into what might be called old-chestnut heaven; of the kind of mythic status possessed more than fifty years ago by the orchestral transcriptions of the D-minor Chaconne and the Toccata and Fugue in D minor, one finds now only a pale echo in the tired renditions of all the six *Brandenburg Concertos* so dutifully played, and so apathetically received, on baroque series.

How is this difference between the exact status of our two great musical masters to be explained? I attempted earlier to approach this problem by suggesting that Bach’s music appealed to our minds rather than our feelings. I also want to suggest—provisionally but nevertheless in dead earnest—that Mozart, in his sufferings and early death, is someone we can all pity, despite his acknowledged supreme genius. Bach, with all his children and his unshaken religious faith, is someone we have no choice but to respect. And pity, after all, is a vastly more comfortable emotion in our century than respect; pity, after all, only emphasizes our common, and weak, humanity, while respect suggests that some of us are actually better than others.

Bach was a profoundly religious man, in ways that educated people today can scarcely credit. It is not so much that the educated cannot conceive of a simple, all-encompassing faith like Bach’s, existing in a simple, uncomplaining, bourgeois man, practical in money matters, who asked no more from life than his daily bread and the devotion of his remarkably large family. But no educated person can possibly maintain that Bach was simple. Indeed, so far was Bach from being simple that no education is enough to enable us to understand the workings of his musical mind. But I suppose that the educated might just possibly be able to accept Bach’s musical mind on the model of the *idiot*-



Alan Nahigian

savant, a music-maker first, last, and always. But there is one flaw, for moderns, in such an understanding of Bach: he can hardly be denied the title of *artist*, that contemporary term which demands of everyone to whom it is applied that he be a revolutionary opponent of every hierarchy, every establishment, every set of rules, every mere acceptance of life. Alas for the universal applicabil-

ity of our current definition of artist, Bach accepted what his life gave him, especially including the rules of music and the rules of God.

Bach, among his manifold contributions to our musical life, wrote the foundation works for many of our most essential instruments. Thus, in connection with the keyboard (which, for close to the past two hundred years, has meant the piano), one need only mention the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, the Partitas, the English and French Suites, the Inventions, and the Toccatas; for the violin there are the six sonatas and partitas; for the cello, there are the six suites. In this sense, as in so many others, Bach was a school. It is because here at Waterloo we are, on our infinitely lower level, also a school that we have over the past six years played more than fifty works—or sections therefrom—of Bach at the beginning of each of our chamber-music programs. We have done so, it bears repeating, only rarely with the instrumentation that Bach himself had in mind; indeed, we have treated Bach’s own instrumentation (where we knew just what it was: in the case of the *Art of Fugue*, which we did in

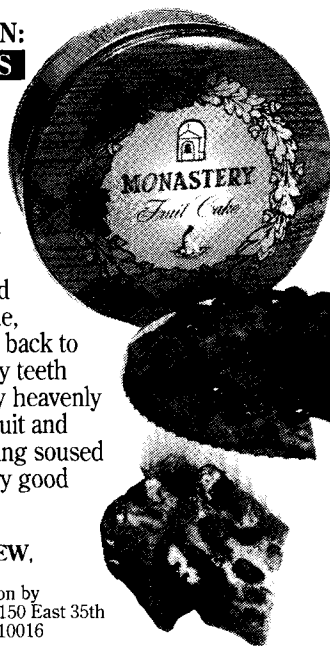
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NIKA HAZELTON: DELECTATIONS

One of the things I enjoyed most at Christmas this year was a simply wonderful fruitcake, made by Trappist monks in Virginia. The greed got the better of me, and I kept stealing back to the cake to sink my teeth into that absolutely heavenly mixture of glace fruit and nuts, with everything soured in brandy (and very good brandy too)...



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1987–88, he specified no particular instruments) in a cavalier fashion.

Our reasons for violating the master's instructions are that his compositions are vastly too great, and much too important to music, to be confined to the instruments he knew and wrote for. Bach's greatness hardly consists in his remarkable skill at utilizing the specific virtues of individual instruments. His greatness was in the pure thought, the abstract arrangement of the sound symbols for any conceivable combination of instruments, that gives his music an existence as much in the mind as in the ear. All musicians, whatever their instruments, should know Bach, and that means that they should play him. In this age of historical specialization, fewer and fewer musicians are allowed by the keepers of our musical taste to actually perform Bach; it is difficult not to feel that the greatest requirement today for playing Bach is not playing well, but talking about playing well. However, interesting as talking (and writing!) about art is, with great music—and especially with Bach—the playing's the thing.

Bach summed up our musical past, and formed its greatness for the two centuries following his death. "Papa Bach" he is rightly called, for reasons having much more to do with his role in our music than with his facility in begetting children. He is also our future. This is not true because our new music will inevitably, or even plausibly, sound like Bach; this is not true because what Bach wrote, and the way he wrote it, is likely to provide templates by which our own production can be measured and against which it can be matched. Bach's role in our musical future, strange as it may seem to say, is *spiritual*. By spiritual I do not mean that all music lovers, performers, and composers (not to mention critics) will become pious Protestants and true believers in the word of God as revealed in the Bible. I mean rather than Bach fashioned a music that reflects the qualities of mind, reason, logic, and order.

For so many years, despite absorbing so many of the lessons provided by Bach in his role as musical craftsman, composers found it proper to emphasize the feelings—their own feelings and those of their audiences. This is, I suppose, what we mean by Romanticism, which in music as in so many

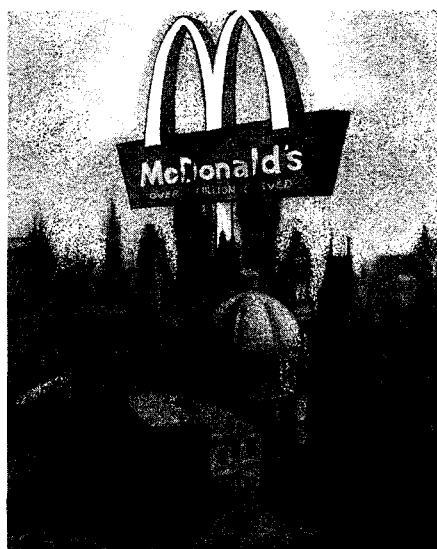
other areas of culture went from exalting human sensibility to wallowing in it. It is not simply that what began as freedom ended as license. What is vastly more important is that so far as art is concerned, the principal characteristic of over-indulgence in sentiment is the application of the principle of egalitarianism to feeling—the notion that all feelings are equal and that if something feels good, do it. As we look back at our musical history we see Romanticism, toward the end of the nineteenth century and in the

years following, going on the rocks first of megalomania and then finally of the inevitable reaction to Romanticism itself that issued forth in the idea that because all feelings were good, all musics were good, and all were equal. It is Bach who in music today stands against this cult of egalitarianism; it is in emphasizing what I have called mind, reason, logic, and, especially, order, that Bach's art holds out the hope of a music, beautiful and true, to which we can look up, and in looking up to it, love it. □

MANNERS IN PRAGUE

Praguelodytes

TEVI TROY



Chang Park

SEATED in a Prague café, next door to the erstwhile home of Radio Stalin, sat Nicho, the quintessential American in Prague. Nursing a coffee and ordering *kaj* (tea, pronounced *chai*) for me, he said, "So what are you writing about?" When I dissembled—"Americans in Prague," I said—he flashed a smug smile, and informed me that my clever idea was already a cliché. He then proceeded to ask how his dye job looked (unnoticeable red highlights in his dark hair), criticize American visitors, and boast of his prowess in Czech, not realizing that the cliché at the table was himself.

"Xers" (pronounced *ex-ers*, as in

Mr. Troy is a graduate student in American studies at the University of Texas at Austin.

Generation X) is the current term for the 41 million Americans, such as Nicho, born between 1961 and 1971, best known for their perpetual envy of baby-boomers. Someone has finally come up with a name for my generation, and looking around Prague I realized how apt the name and characterization are. Of the three kinds of Americans among the staggering twenty thousand in Prague—tourists, business types, and aimless Xers—the third group has contributed most to Prague's dual reputation, as a haven for Americans and a Left Bank for the Nineties.

According to *Newsday*, "Xers are obsessed with the houses they can't afford, and instead of engaging with the world, they retreat: either mooching off mom and dad or marginalizing themselves in 'McJobs'—low-dignity, low-benefit, no-future positions in the service industry." Perhaps this obsession stems from having read too many articles in the *New York Times* warning of a dearth of jobs for university graduates. Conveniently enough, Prague is the perfect place to find a job that is not a career. Most Xers have their fingers in multiple pots, and frequently flit from one odd job to the next.

A favorite vocation is teaching English to anxious Czechs. The wages are excellent by Czech standards: 100 crowns (\$3) an hour. By contrast, a job in a pizza joint pays only 20 crowns (60 cents). Teaching English is not necessarily as easy as you might think: when is the last time you tried

to define a transitive verb or explain why "gh" is pronounced like "ph"? There are also a host of actors, writers, and artists. Most of them teach English for a living, too.

In addition to vocational hangups, Xers are known to be a disgruntled bunch generally, easily bored, and in search of diversion. Hence the migration to Prague, where they have pushed aside the old stereotype of the ugly American, in favor of a new, and no more flattering, stereotype. Previous generations of Americans were the butt of old European jokes, such as: "Why do Americans talk so loud? So you can hear them over their clothes." Today the Americans living in Prague could not be accused of such behavior, although some of the older tourists remain guilty. Xers, indeed, err too much in the other direction. Desperate to blend in, they wear drab-colored clothing, frequently black. So as not to look affluent, many don threadbare, ratty outfits. They forget that it is easy to distinguish a Czech from an American by looking at two things: his shoes and his teeth.

Even sartorially, the boho café look does not provide much camouflage. Young Czechs frequently wear louder, flashier clothes, frequently including T-shirts with American logos. The Czechs also favor comparatively outlandish hairstyles. American hair tends to be a bit long and messy, whereas Czechs are more likely to dye, buzz, or gel their hair.

In trying to avoid the label of ugly American, Xers resort to affected, pretentious, and even anti-American activities. Status symbols among this group are not material, but temporal: namely, evidence of how long you have been in Prague and how authentic your Czech experience has been. It is not uncommon to hear an American remark, with pride, that in his neighborhood you can get a beer for 6 crowns. Toward the center of town beer costs 30 crowns. A related point of pride has to do with apartment location. While New Yorkers who live in the Outer Boroughs don't advertise the fact, Prague Xers will say, with the haughtiness of a denizen of Sutton Place, "I live out in Prague 10" (Prague 1 being the center). Of course, natives wish they could live off Wenceslaus Square and afford the 30-crown beers at U Flecku (Prague's best beer), but this point is

lost on those looking for a "genuine" Prague experience.

In *Dodsworth*, Sinclair Lewis observed that only two peoples engage in relentless self-denigration: Americans and Jews. While the Czechs, unlike the French, seem content with the presence of Americans in their midst, Americans love to condemn their countrymen. Tourists are the favorite target, but other Americans residing in Prague come under fire as well.

Also unpopular is the American political system—unpopular, that is, with Americans. A Czech woman who places Americans as English teachers and has spoken to hundreds of us recently asked me if President Bush is a dictator. When told that he is (for the moment) a duly elected official, she refused to believe it. Why? Every American she meets says President Bush is a despot, without support among the American people (the last part comes closer to the truth, of course).

Although, after forty years of Soviet agitprop, Czechs welcome American culture, Xers deride the heavy American influence, alleging that it is "ruining" Prague. The local McDonald's (a second will open soon) is tastefully decorated and hosts tourists and natives alike. The convenience and service there can prove too much at times, making for a delicious comeuppance. One frequent critic of the Golden Arches broke down and had a Big Mac on Jan Hus Day, a holiday during which every (repeat, every) native Czech business is closed.

Anxious to absorb as much as possible from American culture, the Czechs seem a little bewildered. The theaters are filled with second-, even third-run American films. Most music stations play American pop music, although with a strangely lacking sense of time and style. You might hear, for example, Nirvana followed by Elvis. Similarly, a party-goer in Prague might witness hippies, yuppies, beatniks, skinheads, and punks at the same party, none of them, seemingly, aware that they clash.

The Czechs, however, have no monopoly on such obtuseness. The Americans hanging out in Prague frequently behave as if they were missionaries bringing the ideas of a free society to a young child while living on the cutting edge of the Nineties art world. But despite their illusion, Paris remains Paris; even Milan Kundera re-

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sides there, a point of irritation to
some Czechs. And Prague has not pro-
duced any literature worth mention-
ing in the same sentence with Stein,
Fitzgerald, Hemingway, or even
Henry Miller, all of whom spent time

in Paris during the 1920s. Neverthe-
less, the aimless Xpatriates remain,
sitting in a way station—admittedly a
fun one—biding time until they move
on with their lives and the Czechs es-
tablish their own country. □

DELECTATIONS

The Health Police

LINDA BRIDGES

IF YOU get a kick out of seeing a
highly trained, highly motivated
police force swing into action, the
place to watch is the newspaper
health columns in the days following
any report that questions the conven-
tional dietary wisdom. Snipers mount
the rooftops to pick off the source of
the report, while the crowd-control ex-
perts gravely warn the populace that
there's a lot we don't know, so better
play it safe . . .

Most of the offenders have been
medical researchers, though the most
prominent in recent years was Julia
Child. And she fought back. Mrs.
Child has no use for the sort of food
writer who tells you chirpily that
strawberry shortcake made without
shortening or sugar and served with
yogurt instead of whipped cream is
every bit as good as the original.
(Burnham's Third Law: "Just as good,
isn't.") Her *cri de coeur*: "If fear of food
continues, it will be the death of gas-
tronomy."

From Mrs. Child's point of view, the
battle pits eight hundred years of
French culinary development, plus the
forty years she herself has spent
bringing that heritage to the Ameri-
can cook, against a campaign to blame
all our health woes on the ingestion of
certain foods. Her opponents—some of
whom have actually mounted picket
lines against her during her speaking
tours—see any gustatory indulgence,
whether in *haute cuisine* or in Fritos
and Coke, as a deliberate attack on
your health, and the health of anyone
you might lure to joint you in excess.
Or rather, not even excess: the health
police wouldn't care if a single pat of
butter topped a mound of broccoli; but-
ter defiles the temple of the body.

For the food fanatics have made
their definition of purity a secular re-

ligion. I place in evidence the menu of
a takeout-food shop near our of-
fices. It offers, e.g., "health pita of the
day," "no crust quiche muffin" (I don't
know and don't want to), and "Power
Lunch: smoked turkey breast, water-
cress w/honey mustard on whole grain
bread and brown rice supreme salad
. . . the perfect balanced protein, car-
bohydrate, fiber, and low cholesterol
desktop meal." (Italics and ellipses
theirs.) But what tops their list of
cakes? "Sinful chocolate cake." A pi-
quant syllogism: Things that taste
good have calories and fat; calories
and fat are bad; therefore bad is good.

If the faddists kept it to themselves,
no outsider would have a right to com-
plain. But they are evangelists, and
they want to gain not only external
conformity but internal assent. They
want to make Americans feel so guilty
about butter and cream, salt, sugar
and eggs, that eventually we'll just
give up and reach for a bean sprout.
They would not understand at all the
tradeoff made by a friend of mine who
had been advised by her doctor to cut
back on fats. Dessert is the food group
she cares most about, and so she eats
the plainest grilled fish and unbut-
tered vegetables—and then has two
desserts.

One might expect that, convinced of
the rightness of their cause, they
would be eager to have the fullest pos-
sible information presented to the
public. But no. Every new study that
confirms the link between, say, die-
tary fat and heart attacks is trum-
peted; but if a study suggests that
other factors might modify that link,
or points out some unexpected conse-
quence (as, for example, that the
polyunsaturated fats we were urged
to substitute for animal fats have
been strongly linked to an increase in
cancers), they don't want to hear it
—and they don't want us to hear it.

Miss Bridges is NR's Managing Editor.

Thus the *New York Times's* Marian Burros: "Now that research findings make their way into the popular press while they are still preliminary, the public has become both increasingly sophisticated and increasingly confused. Today's news does not always become tomorrow's advice. Increasingly, as more research is conducted, there are additional interpretations of dietary recommendations with which the public is forced to deal." That sounds a lot like Senator Al Gore saying that people who want to study global warming further before we take costly and perhaps counter-productive action are "hurting our ability to respond," and that press attention to the skeptics "undermines the effort to build a solid base of public support."

To be sure, food enthusiasts, too, often hear what we want to hear. It was fun to read about the studies in southwestern France which found that people there who eat lots of foie gras and goose fat and drink red wine with it do not have elevated cholesterol levels—but I fear that adding foie gras to most of our diets would not lower our cholesterol. There are too many other elements of life in that mostly rural, fairly poor part of France that might have affected the result—for example, the high proportion of beans in the region's diet; or the extent to which the people get their exercise, not by running for an hour a day or working out in the gym, but because they have never purchased the labor-saving devices that make artificial exercise necessary.

An urban American looking at the average Swiss table might sigh, "A short life and a merry one": cheese and salami for breakfast; sausages galore; the national potato dish, *roesti* (potatoes grated, formed into a cake, and fried in butter); all the melted-cheese dishes (*fondues*, *raclettes*, *croûtes au fromage*); liver-dumpling soup; veal cooked with cream and/or cheese; and I haven't even mentioned chocolate yet. Heart-attack city, right? Fifty-year-olds dying of strokes right and left? Wrong. In life expectancy, Switzerland is second only to abstemious, raw-fish-eating, heavy-on-noodles-and-rice Japan. I can't pretend to know what genetic factors might be involved. But I think I get an inkling of what the Swiss are doing right when I see people in the well-off village of

Gstaad walking up a steep slope to their home carrying their parcels, instead of using a snowmobile or cutting an automobile road to their front door. And despite the Calvinist background of part of the country, I have never seen a Swiss look guilty as he raises fork to mouth.

The *Times's* Miss Burros, on the other hand, has schooled herself so carefully that when she went to Hungary to report on the reopening of Gundel—a restaurant that had been world famous until the Communists came—her one concern was where she was going to find enough yogurt to see her through.

Which is why her article on the low-cholesterol controversy is so revealing. It begins and ends: "Life's a drag. And then you die."

Let's hear instead from Julia Child, who says she started cutting her own food consumption when she started gaining weight; but (at age 77) she declares: "I like marbled steaks, and I like butter. I am very careful to eat two tablespoons of saturated fat a day, with greatest pleasure." □

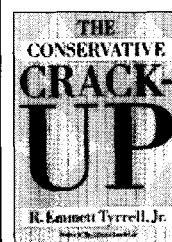
BOOKS IN BRIEF

When Wish Replaces Thought: Why So Much of What You Believe Is False, by Steven Goldberg (Prometheus, 216 pp., \$26.95)

RICHARD ISAY of the American Psychiatric Association writes in a letter to the *New York Times* that "homophobia, the irrational fear and hatred of homosexuals, is a psychological abnormality." Those afflicted, he adds, should be quarantined and denied employment. Though Steven Goldberg didn't have Dr. Isay in mind when he wrote *When Wish Replaces Thought*, he's certainly real-life proof of the thesis of this delightful work of practical philosophy. Goldberg, a professor of sociology at the City College of New York, examines homosexual behavior, the death penalty as deterrence, patriarchy, and other social issues "that elicit the strongest of emotions." Discussion of such topics tends to rely on beliefs derived from emotions, Goldberg says, rather than on arguments based on empirical study. In thinking about homosexuality, the author stresses that we must examine not just the behav-

ior, but what might cause someone to risk social ostracism by doing what very few societies accept as normal practice. And the "homosexual spokesman" who argues that homosexuality is considered abnormal only because of religious bigotry must logically be willing to say that necrophilia is considered "abnormal" for the same reason—that is, not because it is abnormal, but because social bigotry tells us to disapprove. The "spokesman" must

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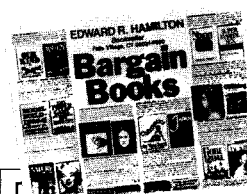


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finally conclude, Goldberg argues, that there is no truly abnormal behavior. For all the weighty issues he has chosen to take up, Steven Goldberg has produced a lively little book based on solid logic and clever supporting examples—which, I'm afraid, probably will never overcome the emotions of the esteemed Dr. Isay.

—GEOFFREY MORRIS

John Courtney Murray and the American Civil Conversation, edited by Robert P. Hunt and Kenneth L. Grasso (Eerdmans, 298 pp., \$21.95)

THE JESUIT political philosopher John Courtney Murray was once well known. In 1960 he even made the cover of *Time* magazine. His renown, however, was one of the many casualties of the Sixties—not because he died in 1967, but because more radical thinkers have rejected the patient, erudite realism of his work. Many of the essays included here—by such leading church-state scholars as Richard John Neuhaus, Francis Canavan, and Gerard Bradley—argue that the time has come for a Murray renaissance. Murray's best-known work was a collection of essays, *We Hold These Truths: Catholic Reflections on the American Proposition* (1960), which probed the relationship between Catholic moral philosophy and the American experiment in self-government. Murray stressed that the American experiment rests not on "values," subjective preferences, or interests, but on self-evident "truths" about man and society. Because these truths were uncovered not by the secular Enlightenment but through centuries of Christian moral philosophy, Murray saw a basic harmony between American democracy and the natural-law tradition within Catholicism. Today, America's dominant public philosophy has degenerated into nugatory relativism and clashing ideologies, and the self-evidence of the founding truths seems precarious. But, as Rabbi David Novak points out in his essay, Murray's natural-law approach is not sectarian; it depends on no specifically Catholic assumptions. In the present intellectual climate, Murray's approach offers an inviting means of defending the truths upon which American freedom rests.

—JOHN WAUCK

TRANS-O-GRAM/ Kem Putney

1 J	2 B	3 N		4 G	5 L	6 A	7 M	8 S	9 F	10 B	11 T	12 H	13 I		14 R	15 L	16 G	17 D		18 J
19 O	20 S	21 M	22 Q	23 C	24 E	25 N		26 T	27 J		28 O	29 G	30 B		31 D	32 F	33 S	34 L	35 A	36 K
37 H	38 T	39 J		40 C	41 P	42 I	43 S		44 H	45 D	46 B	47 T	48 O		49 J	50 N		51 R	52 M	
53 H	54 A	55 L		56 E	57 B	58 O	59 Q	60 F	61 N	62 J	63 S	64 M	65 G		66 C	67 L	68 E		69 H	70 G
71 N	72 J		73 E	74 S	75 F	76 I		77 N	78 G	79 D	80 T		81 K	82 P	83 E		84 B	85 L		86 G
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	122 G	123 C	124 O	125 Q	126 I	127 K	128 E		129 L	130 N	131 G		132 R	133 Q	134 B	135 S	136 H		137 Q	138 I
139 E	140 M		141 F	142 R		143 J	144 F	145 A	146 T	147 D		148 N	149 L	150 T		151 M	152 O		153 N	154 B
155 L	156 I		157 N	158 A	159 G	160 M	161 C	162 K		163 Q	164 B	165 E	166 P		167 F	168 P		169 P	170 J	171 A
172 D	173 I	174 L		175 G	176 D	177 S	178 C	179 J	180 F	181 H										

DEFINITIONS

- | | | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| A. Like a good comedian | 54 158 145 87 171 35 96 6 | L. Off the beaten path (4 words) | 55 149 34 15 85 129 67 155 121 5 |
| B. Rowdy conduct | 154 84 134 10 164 2 46 57 30 105 | | 174 |
| C. Bone malady | 117 110 40 123 178 66 161 23 | M. Empty state | 102 151 118 7 37 91 21 140 64 160 |
| D. Certain Christians | 79 31 103 45 176 172 92 147 17 98 | | 52 |
| E. Emily Post concern | 128 83 165 56 113 139 73 24 68 | N. Liam's quaff (2 words) | 61 157 101 25 130 77 148 153 50 3 |
| F. Chernobyl problem | 95 180 32 141 75 60 167 144 9 | | 71 |
| G. Gang members' weapons | 159 4 70 29 86 111 122 175 78 65 | O. Ranging rodent | 152 28 58 124 115 88 120 19 97 48 |
| | 131 16 | P. Quiet! | 166 169 82 168 41 |
| H. NR's electronic affiliate (2 words) | 44 12 53 116 136 100 181 69 | Q. Makes like a bird | 163 137 125 109 94 22 133 59 |
| I. Donkeys' nemeses | 156 173 126 106 138 42 13 76 93 | R. Factory production | 112 90 132 14 51 142 |
| J. Tradition breakers | 99 143 49 27 62 179 39 170 72 1 | S. Nursery's comfort source | 63 33 177 74 135 114 8 20 104 43 |
| | 18 | T. Guesses—intelligently | 146 108 150 26 89 38 11 80 47 |
| K. City in northwest Italy | 119 81 127 162 36 107 | | |

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acoustic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

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BIRLEY

(Continued from page 52)

thetic to Frelimo, in camps controlled by Frelimo or its allies. Government officials even sat in on some of the interviews. On the basis of interviews with 198 Mozambicans, of whom some 80 claimed to have witnessed Renamo atrocities, Gersony extrapolated a figure of 100,000 deaths.

No one denies that appalling things have happened—least of all Renamo. Civil wars by their very nature tend to bring out worse behavior than most other types of conflict. But in Mozambique the violence has come from both sides. And in demanding free, supervised, secret-ballot elections, Renamo offers the people a chance to end the bloodshed through the ballot box. By its willingness to abide by the result, Renamo has given the lie to the Frelimo propaganda machine.

The U.S. should make it clear to Frelimo that further aid will be forthcoming only if an early date is set for free and fair elections. Meanwhile, Americans who wonder what ever happened to the New World Order should ask why their country's political and economic muscle has been used to bail out this African dictatorship rather than end it. □

The MIA Brawl I

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 23

The *Washington Post* for July 22, 1971, carried a story by Tim O'Brien under the headline "POW Kin/Clash at/Session Here." One paragraph read, "He called on President Nixon to set publicly a date for withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam, adding that the first point of the latest Vietcong peace proposal guarantees the return of American troops when the date is fixed. The Vietcong peace offer, he said, is being ignored by the President."

The young protester was John F. Kerry, who 21 years later, but much less than that many years wiser, is conducting a flamboyant, exploitative harassment of key figures in the Nixon Administration. If there are, in Vietnam or Laos or Cambodia, American servicemen who are missing in action, a) their survival defies any law of probability; b) the motives of the Communists in keeping them there are utterly impenetrable; and c) the hearings of Senator Kerry are not likely to bring them home. What the senator is engaged in is headline-hunting for which he has a guaranteed claque, namely the kinfolk of the MIAs, who welcome any revisitation of the drama involving their late brothers and husbands and sons. They greet any discussion of the question as a ray of hope, as breathlessly as so much of the world continued to welcome any flying saucer that suggested that Amelia Earhart might really still be alive on one of those little Pacific atolls.

Henry Kissinger distinguished himself with testimony that should have left Senator Kerry breathless, except that nothing will accomplish that until the Reaper decides that enough is enough.

The burden of Senator Kerry's charge is, in effect, that the Nixon Administration was indifferent to the fate of the MIAs. To maintain this in the face of the record is quite simply impossible. While, in 1971, as a young veteran discharged after valiant duty in Vietnam, Kerry was engaged in peace-at-any-price demonstrations (this included tossing his med-

als over the gates of the White House as a gesture of contempt for executive diplomacy), the Nixon Administration was replying to the Vietnamese overture as follows: 1) Yes, we will withdraw our forces from South Vietnam, but 2) only after we have from you the pledge that you will return those servicemen you have in your prisoner-of-war camps, and 3) only after we have from you a pledge not to opportunize on the ceasefire to fortify your own aggressive position against the South Vietnamese. For two years, Hanoi simply refused to agree to these terms. It is ironic that Nixon and Kissinger are now being accused of indifference to the fate of our prisoners-of-war because Nixon and Kissinger insisted on their repatriation as a condition for concluding hostilities. One wonders if Senator Kerry's exhibition isn't an attempt to expiate his own subordination of the interests of our POWs.

What then began, as we all know, was the apparently endless sessions in Paris between Le Duc Tho and Kissinger, culminating on October 8, 1972, when the American terms were agreed to. The formal agreement was initialed on January 23, 1973. And what happened in the ensuing weeks, months, and years was entirely straightforward: the North Vietnamese systematically violated all of their pledges. They did return five-hundred-odd U.S. prisoners-of-war, but we had no way of knowing whether that was 100 per cent of those they held or 50 per cent. Moreover, their pledge to require the Laotians to return whatever POWs were there was quite simply ignored. And, of course, their pledge not to increase their aggressive reserves was

splashily violated, auguring their final victory over the South Vietnamese in the spring of 1975.

That victory truly dishonored the American servicemen who gave their lives in pursuit of a goal which once upon a time John Kerry labeled as "noble." Thirty-four thousand American lost their lives in Vietnam, plus whatever POWs were not returned. These are by now almost certainly dead, either executed, or dead from exposure or pestilence. One day, after the incumbent generation of historians is gone, moral strategists will weigh the Vietnam War. They will, in this judgment, conclude that serious mistakes were made in tactics and in strategy. They will not conclude that Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon were flippant in their exercise of power; and certainly not that Secretary Rogers or NSC Chief Kissinger was indifferent to the fate of the MIAs. □

The MIA Brawl II

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 25

Henry Kissinger offered Senator Kerry's committee a devastating series of reminders of what had been the mood of Congress and of critics of the war during the critical period in which the fate of the MIAs was under discussion.

He had to remind Senator Kerry of the realities of negotiation. These are that you have got to have something other than deep reserves of animadversion to direct at those sitting on the other side of the table. The negotiations with Le Duc Tho in Paris ended in January of 1973, when the bells of Watergate had tolled the approaching end of the Nixon Administration.

But it wasn't only Watergate. It was also the consolidating mood in Congress and among strategically placed critics that left negotiator Kissinger with fewer and fewer weapons. He lectured the Kerry Committee on the point.

1) "Just as I was leaving for the final negotiations in January 1973, both the House and Senate Democratic Caucuses passed, by very large margins, resolutions calling for legislation to cut off all funds for the war."

Dr. Kissinger reminded the Kerry Committee that the whole question of bringing back all the MIAs had been examined by a bipartisan House Select Committee in 1976; it had concluded that "The provisions of the Paris Peace Agreement relative to POWs and MIAs and the Protocol on Prisoners and Detainees appear, at first glance and after



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more thoughtful consideration, not only adequate but excellent."

This datum reminded us that, 2) "The problem with the Paris Accords was not their text, but their implementation by North Vietnam. From the very start, Hanoi began violating the accords. The record shows clearly that while the Executive branch tried strenuously to bring pressure on Hanoi to obey its commitments under the Paris Accords, in particular those relating to POWs and MIAs, the U.S. Congress even more vigorously and successfully undercut our ability to enforce those accords. Our Administration was prepared to use force to resist Hanoi's violations of the agreement until the Congress prohibited it."

Do we now know that there were MIAs detained? 3) "Personally, I have no proof whether Americans were kept behind by Hanoi. The Vietnamese are certainly capable of such a cynical act and of lying about it even though their motive would be obscure . . . But no confirmed report of living American prisoners ever crossed my desk."

Did the Executive have significant support from Congress to take a tough stand against North Vietnamese evasion? 4) "During this period many political leaders, including Senator George McGovern, the Democratic presidential candidate, and thirty U.S. senators, were calling for the *unconditional* unilateral withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam, without any formal North Vietnamese commitment for the concurrent or even subsequent return of our MIAs and POWs or accounting for those missing in action."

Did the Administration sustain the pressure, to the extent this was possible, against Hanoi? 5) "Between February 1973 and June 1975, we raised our dissatisfaction with accounting for MIAs in Laos more than sixty times with officials of the Laotian government. It is the ultimate irony that our Herculean efforts to get an accounting in 1973 should be twisted twenty years later into 'evidence' that we knew POWs had been left behind."

Was Kissinger improvising a defense, A.D. 1992? 6) "During this period, as I have reported in detail in my memoirs, I favored military retaliation against Hanoi's repeated violations."

What was the critical press up to during this period? 7) "A *New York Times* editorial of April 1, 1973, stated that the President continues to imply in dark and guarded language that he is ready to use the power of the United States to force adherence to the cease-fire terms. Nowhere in the official records of the truce

is there provision for any one nation to deal with violations by its own unilateral actions."

Henry Kissinger said it all with admirable and scorching lucidity: "The Committee owes the American people a statement of the simple truth:

"Some prisoners *may*—I repeat, *may*—have been *kept* behind by our adversaries.

"No prisoners were *left* behind by the deliberate act or negligent omission of American officials."

There ought to be a congressional equivalent of the authority to rebuke and to fine those who bring legal action on transparently trivial grounds. □

The Other Republicans

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 11

The economic package of President Bush is in depressing contrast to the proposals urged in a private memorandum a week before the Republican Convention. The authors of the memo were Jack Kemp, Vin Weber, Newt Gingrich, Connie Mack, Trent Lott, Bob Kasten, and Malcolm Wallop. Their goal: to double the Gross Domestic Product in seven years.

President Bush speaks of a \$10-trillion GDP but of course specifies no target date, nor can he persuasively do so with a program anemic by contrast with what the Go-Goers had in mind. President Bush talks about reducing government expenditures by \$130 billion, which would justify, he said, a 1 per cent cut in the income tax. And then he said that he would reduce the expenses of the White House by one-third if Congress would match him by reducing *its* expenses by one-third. There are those of us who would see him one-third and raise him two-thirds, but this is nickel & dime stuff and in any event has the flavor of I'll show you mine, if you'll show me yours.

The Conservative Go-Goers are by contrast anti-bureaucratic flame-throwers.

—They would reduce the four thousand pages of the tax code to forty "or better yet, to four."

—"The Achilles' heel of the Democrats is the graduated nature of their tax proposals, including a 38 per cent top rate and a confiscatory surtax. . . . There are not enough incomes above \$1 million to fund the Democratic spending machine. If the tax rate on incomes above \$1 million were raised to 38 per cent, the total revenues collected would be less than \$7

billion. Every surtax in this century has produced nothing but more tax shelters, more tax lawyers, and lower than expected tax revenues."

Do the conservative militants believe the present tax scale is fair?

—No. "Americans are already over-taxed. For people making just over \$15,000 a year in 1992, the all-in effective marginal tax rate is 47 per cent, compared to 23 per cent in the mid 1960s. The 1990 budget deal increased the top federal effective marginal rate to 34 per cent from 28 per cent for a family of four, a 21 per cent increase. In effect, we have witnessed the incremental repeal of the original Reagan-Bush program to reduce tax rates and spending which produced record growth during the 1980s."

Concretely:

—"Reduce income tax rates on all working families"—dropping the 15 per cent rate to 12 per cent, and capping the top rate at 28 per cent. Phase in an increase in the personal exemption to restore it to the Truman level, "which in current dollars would be over \$6,000."

—"Index the capital-gains tax . . . to end the confiscatory practice of taxing illusory gains caused by inflation. . . . A couple who invested in stocks worth \$10,000 twenty years ago and then sold them for \$37,000 today would be liable for a tax of more than \$10,000 even though the *real* value of the investment remains unchanged."

—"Insure minimal inflation by requiring the Federal Reserve to follow Price Level Targeting, "a practice Federal Reserve Governor Wayne Angell has advocated and Alan Greenspan has tacitly adopted." ("Once and for all, Republicans must stop lecturing the Fed about printing more dollars simply to expand M1, M2, or M3.")

—"The U.S. should join ranks with Britain, Germany, Italy, Russia, Mexico, Argentina [et al.] to privatize state-run businesses, sell assets, and contract out services." Among these: FCC spectrum rights, Strategic Petroleum Reserve, Postal Service, federal land holdings, National Weather Service.

—And yes, there should be a domestic spending freeze, cuts in defense, entitlement reform, zero capital gains for investment in Enterprise Zones, radical changes in welfare reform, an expansion of free trade . . .

Well, it sounds like another Administration, but the problem is that the only other Administration we are looking at wants to go the way of the Social Democrats in Europe. American Fabianism. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

Bobby Fischer's Dumbest Move

WAS THIS heavy, bearded, balding guy *Bobby Fischer*? Last time we saw him, twenty years ago, he was a bonily handsome chess prodigy who in Reykjavik in 1972 snatched the world title away from the Soviet world champ, Boris Spassky, as rudely as if Spassky had stolen it from him.

Which, in a way, he had. The Soviets had schemed to save their successive champions from a showdown with the Brooklyn kid, until in 1971 he went through the world's toughest competition like a mad rhino at a garden party, winning 15 games in a row at a level where the players usually read each other's minds and agree to draw. It was astounding. Finally Spassky had to face him.

André Malraux once observed, apropos of politics, that overturning the chessboard is not a chess move. André Malraux never met Bobby Fischer. The big question at Reykjavik was not whether Fischer would win, but whether he would show up. He fought petulantly over the playing conditions and arrived late, forfeiting one game. No matter; he won easily. But he refused to show for his first title defense, in 1975. And that was the last we heard from him.

Since then, rumor has placed him in darkest California, joining an apocalyptic sect. Like everything else he did, it surprised, but it figured, in some obscure way.

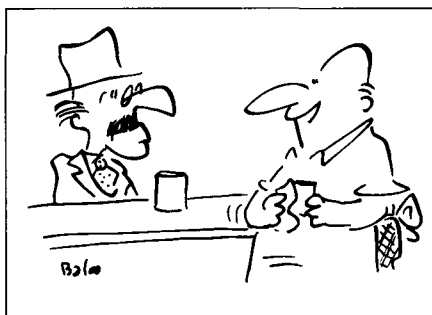
So it surprised, but it figured, that he should reappear in . . . well, Yugoslavia, for lack of a better word, where (war? what war?) he announced that he was defending his title (in his own mind he'd never lost it) against Spassky, for the lion's share of a \$5-million purse. Pushing fifty, he was accompanied by a 19-year-old girlfriend, just when the reading public was fretting over Soon-Yi Previn. Then again, she was the first female Bobby had ever been seen with.

At his first press conference, Fischer held up a letter from some outfit bill-

ing itself the U.S. Government, warning him that whereas and hereby, etc., he was forbidden to play chess in Yugoslavia, under penalty of fine and imprisonment. "This is my answer," Fischer said, spitting on the letter. Yes, it was the real Bobby, all right. You gotta like this guy.

Then came the real gaspers. He said he hadn't paid income taxes since 1976 and wasn't going to start now. He called the recent top whadayacall'em—Soviet, Russian—players "some of the lowest dogs around," and charged they'd been fixing games and he could prove it. He asked why there were sanctions against Yugoslavia but not Israel. He said he wasn't anti-Semitic because he's pro-Arab and Arabs are Semites too, you know. He said Communism—"Bolshevism," he quaintly called it—was "a mask for Judaism," which must have come as news to the host country, not to mention Fidel Castro and Kim Il-sung. (If North Korea isn't goyish, the term may be meaningless.)

You didn't have to belong to the Amen Corner to be left wheezing by all this. But you could look on the bright side: at least Bobby's not a monomaniac about chess any more. He thinks globally now, though not, admittedly, in the Al Gore vein. You can even argue that he's a refreshing presence in this election year, just about equidistant from "family values" and "compassion" and "saving the earth." As I say, you gotta like this



"Well, McAllister, all your raving over the years finally paid off—the Soviet Union collapsed."

guy, especially if your name is Abu Nidal.

The whole performance raised little questions like where he means to live the rest of his life, having publicly provoked the State Department, the IRS, and maybe Mossad into the bargain. He didn't give the impression he was thinking ten moves ahead, unless he plans to play chess by mail from a small cell.

Editorialists did their stuff. The *New York Post* called for his prosecution for violating UN sanctions. Chess experts said he was probably rusty after being away from competitive chess for two decades.

So Bobby sat down at the chessboard and whipped Spassky with what one analyst called a "stroke of genius" on the 42nd move. He played erratically over the next few games, but soon had a 5 to 2 lead. His fifth victory was hailed as a classic, featuring a novel attack that trapped Spassky by the 15th move. I have to take the experts' word on this: like most Americans, I don't know Ruy López from García y Vega.

OFF THE BOARD, though, where the rest of us can judge, Bobby's moves are not so smart. It's too bad he doesn't have someone to tone him down a little. Father Coughlin, say. He may soon learn the relative strength of the Intergalactic Zionist Conspiracy and the Internal Revenue Service. (All civics books should start with the Sixteenth Amendment.)

Should Bobby go to prison? The answer, of course, is: Hell, no. There are people you just have to put up with, and sometimes the most brilliant are also the crankiest. Greatness on Fischer's scale is so rare in any activity that, when it comes along, the world, including officialdom, should gratefully let it be, unless he robs, rapes, or kills.

This, however, is not how governments look at it. They tend to take the view that—at risk of oversimplifying—they want your money, now. Bobby hasn't quite grasped this. It might avert possible misunderstandings by naïve chessplayers if they replaced George Washington with the IRS Commissioner on the dollar bill, and excised a few misleading words from "The Star-Spangled Banner."

—JOSEPH SOBRAN



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